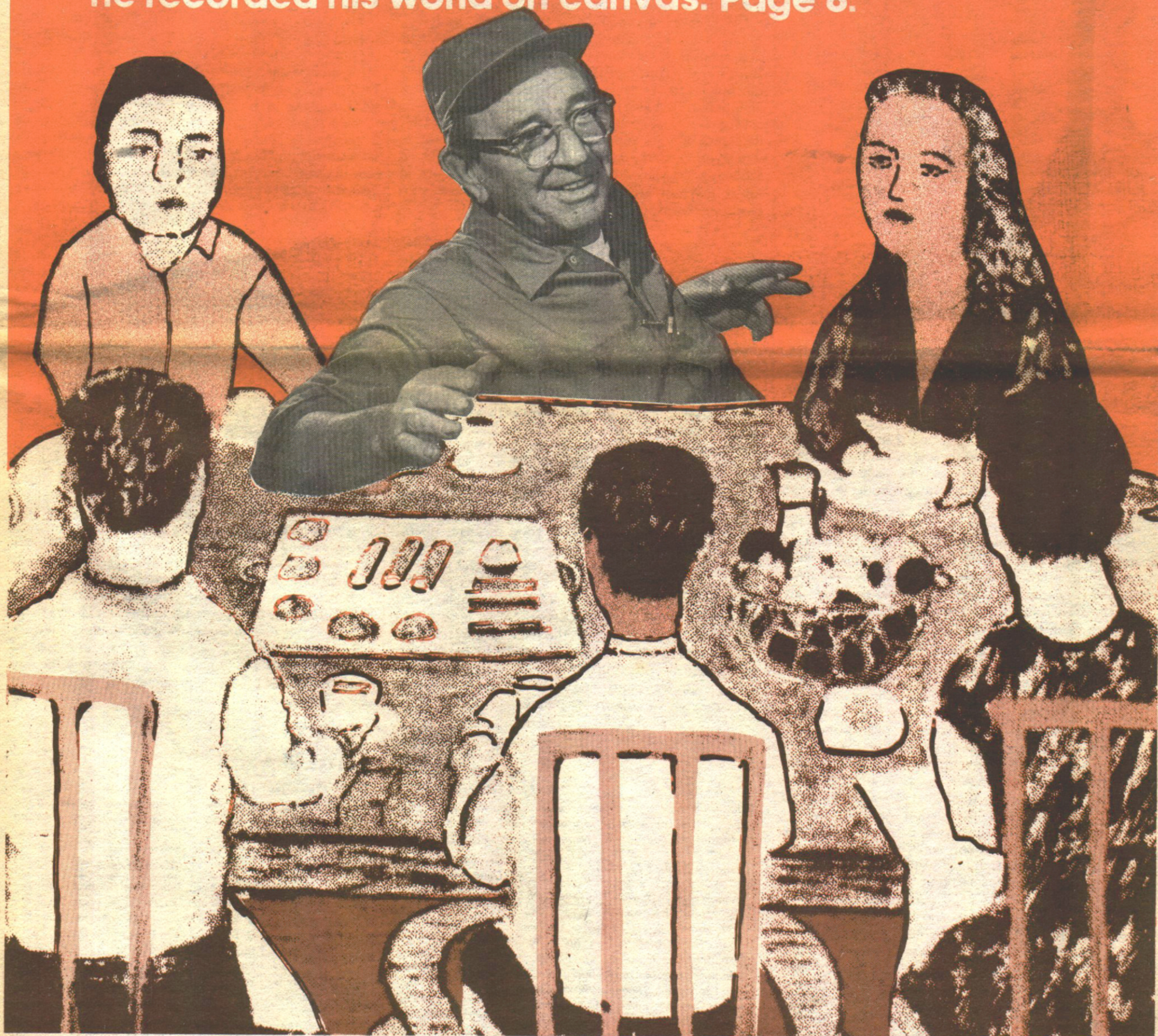


Working Man's Artist

For 40 years Ralph Fasanella organized for unions, worked in machine shops, pumped gas. At night he recorded his world on canvas. Page 8.



PLUS:

Karen Mulhauser on abortion, page 2.

Violence in Boston, page 5.

El Salvador's future, page 7.

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Karen Mulhauser, executive director of the National Abortion Rights League.

NARAL takes abortion issue to the polls

With 81,000 dues-paying members, NARAL, the National Abortion Rights Action League, is the largest "pro-choice" or abortion rights organization in the U.S. Last week, its executive director Karen Mulhauser visited Chicago for a benefit staged by the Playboy Foundation. Prior to the event, she discussed NARAL's philosophy and strategy with *IN THESE TIMES*.

NARAL was founded in 1969. It was first called the "National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Legislation." After the 1973 Supreme Court decision overturned state anti-abortion statutes, NARAL changed its name and shifted its emphasis to protecting the status quo from constitutional or legislative backlash. It shifted its headquarters from New York to Washington, where it set up a lobbying office under Mulhauser's direction.

Six years later, with Congress having passed successive versions of the "Hyde Amendment" virtually eliminating Medicaid abortions (the latest version restricts funding to cases of rape or incest) and with sympathetic legislators like Iowa Senator John Culver the target of anti-abortion "hit squads," NARAL has had to rethink its exclusive emphasis on lobbying.

"Naively, we used to think that if we presented all the rational arguments, the factual material, and the statistics showing the benefits of legal abortion, that would keep them [the Representatives and Senators] from passing bad legislation," Mulhauser said.

But Mulhauser discovered that "rational arguments were not enough." "I have personally talked with Senators and Congressmen who have told me in the privacy of their offices that obviously if abortion is to be legal, it should be available to poor women as well, but they have this perception that the anti-abortion people are organized enough in their districts or in their states to defeat them. They feel that continuing to vote against abortion funding, they'll be able to maintain a vote from their constituents."

Mulhauser found that even politicians who had no fear of losing elections were still unwilling to threaten their victory margins by voting for abortion funding. "Their insensitivity to the women of their states has convinced us that we have to organize for election politics as well as lobbying politics," Mulhauser said.

NARAL has now hired organizers and set up groups in states where abortion rights advocates are targeted for defeat. They will defend Culver in Iowa, Sen. George McGovern in South Dakota, Sen. Robert Packwood in Oregon, Sen. Patrick Leahy in Vermont,

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 48) published Oct. 31, 1979, for newsstand distribution Oct. 31-Nov. 6, 1979.

and Rep. Robert Drinan in Massachusetts.

NARAL is using traditional electoral techniques. "We are going door-to-door," Mulhauser explained. "We identify people who agree and bring them to neighborhood meetings to figure out what they can do in terms of legislation and election campaigns." Through this kind of organizing, NARAL hopes to expand the abortion rights movement into working class and minority neighborhoods.

In addition, NARAL has set up a national Political Action Committee that will contribute directly to 1980 election candidates.

Second Prohibition movement.

Mulhauser sees the Catholic Church hierarchy as a principal enemy of abortion rights. She likes to compare the anti-abortion movement with the temperance movement. "This is the second Prohibitionist movement of our century," she said. "In the first we had a religious group—the Methodists—writing into law their morality against drinking. It didn't stop people from drinking. It drove it underground and into the hands of organized crime."

"We find the same thing from the abortion prohibition movement. It would not stop abortion. It would give them to organized crime, and women would be paying a lot more than \$150 or \$160 for an abortion."

Some proponents of abortion rights had called for demonstrations against Pope John Paul II when he came to Washington, but Mulhauser opposed the idea. She did feel, however, that the Pope's visit only strengthened the resolve of American Bishops to lead the battle for an anti-abortion amendment.

"We have no comment on religious leaders," Mulhauser said. "Their responsibility is to make it clear what their religion says on all kinds of morality. But as soon as one says that their morality ought to be the law, then we have to respond because that's a violation of first amendment rights."

Mulhauser suspects that the Catholic leaders' determination to adopt a new constitutional amendment—the Catholic National Committee for a Human Life Amendment is the largest anti-abortion lobby in Washington—partly reflects the Church's internal weakness.

Polls continue to report that a majority of Catholics favor contraception and abortion rights. "They haven't been successful through the Church in imposing their dogma, so they are trying to impose it not only on Catholics but on all other people," Mulhauser said.

Neither right nor left.

Mulhauser also sees the New Right as a principal enemy of abortion rights. "When you look at the leadership of the anti-abortion organizations, there is no question there is an allegiance between the anti-abortion people and the New Right," she said.

But Mulhauser does not accept a simple equation between support or opposition to abortion rights and a general political philosophy. "We hear from a lot of people who are conservative," she said. "You find a John Tower (R-Texas) voting for abortion funding, and a Silvio Conte (D-Mass), who is good on most liberal issues, voting against it."

Mulhauser recounts how a recent attack against New Right organizations in a NARAL newsletter evoked angry replies from NARAL members who belonged to those organizations. "The letters said that we should stay just on the issue of abortion and not try to make it a liberal/conservative issue," Mulhauser said.

Her point was confirmed when she had to interrupt our interview to talk on the phone to a NARAL sup-

porter. He told her that he had been contributing to Rep. Phillip Crane's presidential campaign until he learned Crane opposed abortion. He had told Crane he could expect no further contributions until he altered his position.

Mulhauser herself inclines towards Left/liberalism, but she insists that NARAL must remain a single-issue organization. She told of problems NARAL had had working with local socialist groups who "only wanted to talk about abortion in a broader context. They say you can't talk about abortion unless you're talking about a guaranteed annual income for everybody. That's a very good argument and I endorse it, but our members join us because we are just going to talk about abortion. If they see us going off into other issues, they'll leave."

Sexual repression.

Like many advocates of abortion rights, Mulhauser sees abortion as merely the "ending of a pregnancy" rather than an act of manslaughter. She also says it is against her morality "to force women to have children when they know they can't care for them or when they know they are deformed." But in arguing for federal abortion funding, Mulhauser and NARAL try to keep the discussion on a more abstract constitutional plane.

"We feel the government should find a position of neutrality," Mulhauser said. "It has not done so when it cuts off funding for abortion, but allows funding for prenatal care, for delivery, and even to maintain a child on welfare. When a woman cannot afford any medical care for her family, and the cost of an abortion is \$150 to \$160, she doesn't have a choice among pregnancy alternatives."

Mulhauser is not impressed with the argument that federal funding for abortion forces many taxpayers to support a practice they abhor, nor by the considerably more unanimous support for birth than for abortion. Even if a large majority of taxpayers opposed abortions, Mulhauser thinks the law requires their funding.

Mulhauser, who will be 37 next week, was trained as a biochemist, but she grew tired of working in laboratories and became a high school science teacher. She became concerned about the repeal of abortion laws through her interest in sexual education and later her work as a pregnancy counsellor.

When she talks about the obstacles facing the abortion rights movement, some of her previous interest in sexual education comes through. For the movement's recent problems, she is most inclined to blame the complacency that set in after the Supreme Court victory in 1973. "It was easier to organize to change a law than to protect the *status quo*," she said. Mulhauser also acknowledges that the predominantly middle-class membership of the abortion rights movement limited its response to the Medicaid funding issue.

But Mulhauser thinks that abortion's link to sexuality poses a special longterm problem. "Abortion is related to pregnancy," Mulhauser explained. "And pregnancy is the result of sexual activity, and most people, especially politicians, don't know how to deal with matters related to sexuality. For most people, it's a public statement to write a letter to a politician or come to a demonstration. It's a public statement about being sexually active. They're uncomfortable doing it."

Conversely, Mulhauser attributes the anti-abortion movement's fervor to its opposition to sexuality. "Their concern, though they are couching it in terms of the life of the fetus, goes far deeper, and it has to do with their negative attitude toward sexuality. They are equally opposed to contraception and sexual education. They would like to see us return to the day when the fear of becoming pregnant was a deterrent to sexual activity."

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, *Editor*; John Judis, *Political Editor*; Patricia Aufderheide, *Cultural Editor*; David Moberg, *National Affairs Editor*; Mark Naison, *Sports*; Wilfred Burchett, *(Asia & Africa)*; Diana Johnstone, *(Paris)*; David Mandel *(Jerusalem)*; Chris Mullin *(London)*; Bruce Vandervort, *(Geneva)*, *Foreign Correspondents*; Steve Rosswurm, *Librarian*; Ken Rattner, *Proofreader*.

BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.
DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303) 388-3850

NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.

ART

Tom Greensfelder, *Director*; Jessie Bunn, *Associate Director*; Dolores Wilber, *Assistant Director*; Jim Rinnert, Ann Barnds, *Composition*; Pam Rice, *Camera*; Ken Firestone, *Photographer*.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, *Co-publishers*, Jan Czarnik, *General Manager*; Pat Vander Meer, *Circulation*; Bob Nicklas, *Advertising/Promotion*; Bill Rehm, *Office*; Steve Rosswurm, *Special Projects*.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *IN THESE TIMES* is copyright © 1979 by Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. *IN THESE TIMES* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All editorial, advertising, and business correspondence should be sent to: *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to: 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, IL 60650. Subscriptions are \$19.00 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$32.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *IN THESE TIMES* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

THESE TIMES



LABOR

The two leading Teamsters dissident groups will merge

By Ron Williams

A MERGER OF THE TWO MAJOR Teamster union reform groups, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Professional Drivers Council, (PROD), is planned for early November at the TDU's annual convention in Ypsilanti, Mich. The culmination of a long process, the move appears to be an important consolidation of rank and file opposition within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The PROD National Council and TDU National Steering Committee have hammered out details and terms of agreement for several months. Over Labor Day weekend, the PROD National Convention formally approved the merger, clearing the way for a mail ratification ballot by the membership to be completed Oct. 27th. The TDU Steering Committee has recommended an affirmative vote to its members (by mail or convention ballot) on three constitutional amendments that will facilitate the change.

Ted Katsaros, Chairman of the PROD National Council, told IN THESE TIMES that he had "no reservations" about the merger. Katsaros hailed the proposed new constitution and by-laws of the combined organization stating "the degree of control and rights secured by the membership should be model within the labor movement." Although no substantial opposition to the merger has surfaced in internal debates, strong concern around the issue of identity has been expressed by some PROD activists. With the more inclusive "Teamsters for a Democratic Union" to be retained as the organization's name, many insisted that the PROD emblem and, more important, the group's program had to be safeguarded in the merger.

The proposed structural changes are designed to incorporate the strengths of both groups without compromising the identity of either. The maintenance of PROD's Washington D.C. office has been guaranteed. Lobbying and legal work under the PROD name will con-

tinue as a program of TDU. The TDU monthly paper *Convoy* and the PROD publication *Dispatch* will become *Convoy-Dispatch*. And for the next year each organization will be represented one for one on the National Steering Committee and in the selection of Co-Chairs and Trustees.

PROD, founded in late 1972 with Ralph Nader's help and under the guidance of attorney Arthur Fox focussed on IBT's lack of commitment to job security, safety and health. As its name implied, PROD has been concerned primarily with road drivers, for whom it has lobbied and litigated within the bureaucratic maze of

regulatory agencies, federal departments, congress and the courts.

Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), the forerunner of TDU formed in 1975, was, in part, a response by a group of teamster militants to their dissatisfaction with PROD's concentration on legislators and the courts. It was intended to address issues relevant to all Teamster members, not just road drivers, who are a minority within the union. Pressing for increased democracy and rank and file control, TDU has consistently stressed local chapter building and the development of local leadership.

In recent years, PROD has shifted emphasis away from its D.C. office has

also promoted chapter building. In the process, according to Katsaros, "We found ourselves competing with TDU in some local situations, while the number of people belonging to both groups seemed to be increasing."

Ken Paff, National Secretary of TDU, agrees. "By the time of the 1979 contracts, it became very obvious as the groups were growing and becoming more alike in many respects, that there was a need for coordinated activity to be more effective." During this period, TDU was becoming increasingly active in the legal arena as well.

The impending merger does not come at a time of great organizational momentum. TDU has experienced a healthy increase in both membership and credibility, despite some ups and downs in the recent contract period, but PROD has lost some membership. One PROD organizer characterized that decline as "a leveling off" and Katsaros maintained that the drop "was not enough to shake the integrity of the organization." Katsaros said money was not the real issue of the recent freight agreement, and that PROD's failure to score gains in such areas as safety may have led to discouragement and cynicism among some members. PROD has also suffered from a lack of membership participation in organizational matters—in the last election barely two percent of the members cast ballots.

A merger of the 4,500 PROD members with the 5,000 TDU members could greatly strengthen the rank and file opposition within the Teamsters union. But past tensions between the groups and PROD's low level of membership involvement has caused concern on the part of both leaderships that PROD many members might quit rather than participate in the combined organization.

TDU National Steering Committee member Eileen Janadia told IN THESE TIMES "It doesn't look like that's going to be the case to any great degree." She believes equal composition of the new steering committee, continuation of the PROD D.C. office and programs and a campaign to encourage chapter activity will prevent major losses. Katsaros concurred. In PROD, "even those opposed or having serious reservations appear to be going with the merger," he said. ■

FRANCE

Abortion spurs women's movement

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IT WAS THE FIRST REALLY BIG women's demonstration ever held in France. The occasion was the forthcoming parliamentary debate on extending the five-year-old Veil law legalizing abortion, which expires in January. The Oct. 6 march was organized to express dissatisfaction with the restrictiveness and bad application of the Veil law and to demand complete depenalization of abortion. But the 30,000 or more women who marched through the streets of Paris were obviously drawn also by their desire for something that has not yet developed in France: a strong independent women's movement.

The original fight to legalize abortion in France was spearheaded by famous women: actresses, writers, lawyers. The battle was won before this most mobilizing of women's issues managed to build a mass movement.

The law, pushed through a right-wing parliament in late 1974 by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's Health Minister

Simone Veil (now president of the European Parliament at Strasbourg) with the decisive help of votes from the left, requires time-consuming consultations and a "week of reflection" that, what with deliberate stalling by anti-abortion medical personnel, often use up the first 10 weeks of pregnancy during which abortion can be legally performed. Moreover, the medical "conscience clause" not only allows doctors to refuse to perform abortions themselves, but also to order their subordinates not to perform them (in practice, even doctors who prescribe abortions usually pass the job on to interns or medical students).

Solidarity and self-confidence.

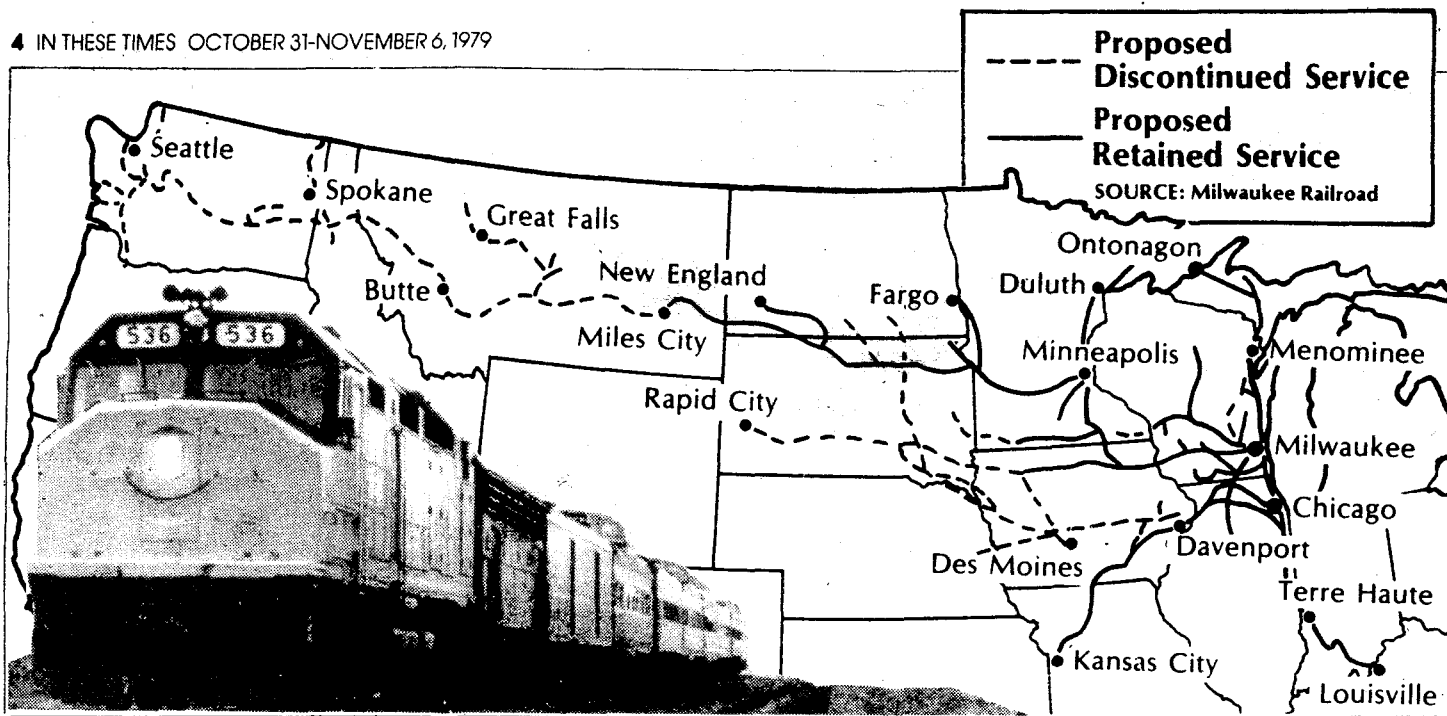
The passage of the Veil law struck a nearly fatal blow to the Movement for the Freedom of Abortion and Contraception (MLAC), which had gone beyond mere lobbying for legalized abortion to setting up centers providing birth control consultations and even illegal abortions to women in need. The Veil law kept the MLAC centers outlawed by specifying that only regular hospitals and clinics could perform abortions.

Ostensibly to prevent commercialization of abortion, the law stipulates that no clinic can devote more than a fourth of its operations to pregnancy interruptions. After some hesitation, most MLAC groups decided to work to get regular clinics to carry out the law rather than run their own. But the MLAC centers were building a solidarity and self-confidence among women radically different from the intimidating paternalism of ordinary medical institutions.

The relatively liberal French Catholic Church opposes legalized abortion for the record, realizing it has little political influence. More zealous opposition comes from nationalists like Michel Debre who fear the French will stop reproducing if they can get out of it. But the most formidable opponents of the Veil law five years ago were members of the medical profession led by Professor Jean-Louis Lortat-Jacob, head of the Medical Order.

The fight to extend legalization seemed won when Lortat-Jacob publicly reversed himself in an interview in the Oct. 9 issue of *Le Monde*. Although still disap-

Continued on page 10.



RAILROADS

Service cuts threaten towns

By Judy Sarasohn

WASHINGTON

THE HISTORIES OF THREE FORKS, Mont., and the Milwaukee Road have been interwoven since the early 1900s. But the relationship is tenuous these days. The Milwaukee, the nation's seventh largest railroad, is bankrupt and wants to drop its service to Three Forks and other cities and towns on its western routes.

But if the routes go, so do the railroad jobs of 60 Three Forks families. The Milwaukee has a payroll of about \$1.9 million in Three Forks, a town of about 1,400 in southwestern Montana. And the workers pay \$35,000 in local taxes, more than half the town's projected tax revenue.

"If 60 families were suddenly to move out of town," said Three Forks Mayor Jack Heegner, "the economy of the town would feel it."

So would many other communities on the routes, which stretch west to Seattle. And the legislators from those cities and towns contend that cutting the lines

would badly hurt local economies by forcing coal, grain and other industries to find more expensive transportation.

"There's all the communities that will die. They're small communities, but they're the cornerstone of Montana," said Sen. Max Baucus, D-Mont.

The situation has prompted a move in Congress to prop up the Milwaukee—one of eight bankrupt railroads that has come to the lawmakers for help since 1970. And it has reopened a debate, begun when the troubled Penn Central came to Congress in 1970, over how much the federal government should do to subsidize the ailing railroad corporations.

The plan to stop service on 6,400 miles of the 9,800-mile Milwaukee Road is being pushed by Richard B. Ogilvie, a former Illinois governor who was appointed the railroad's trustee by a federal court.

Ogilvie, some Midwest members of congress and officials of the Carter administration believe that cutting the western routes is the only way to protect the profitability of the Milwaukee's routes in the Midwest.

But Northwest legislators oppose the

move because of the devastating impact it would have on their area. They believe federal aid would provide enough respite to allow the Milwaukee to become financially healthy.

One possible way to renew the railroad's health could be provided by a coalition of rail employees and shippers who are considering buying the railroad.

Baucus and others also contend that development of coal mines in Montana and possible increased trade with Asia would generate new railroad traffic. But Milwaukee and government officials say the mines are not located near the lines, and they don't believe enough traffic will develop.

Also, specific routes might be saved if they were subsidized by affected states.

Ogilvie, administration officials and Midwest members of Congress are willing to cooperate with the Northwest members for at least a short time to see if something can be done to save the western routes.

A federal district judge in Chicago has ordered service stopped by Nov. 1 on routes west of Miles City, Mont., in the eastern part of the state. But on Oct. 12, Congress voted a 30-day delay to give it

time to consider plans for financial aid that could result in federal loan guarantees or grants of up to \$80 million or more to keep western routes open.

One plan, which Ogilvie may support, is being drafted by Sens. Baucus and Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash. The proposal would give the coalition of rail employees and shippers until Jan. 1 to develop a plan to buy the railroad. The plan, if approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), would have to be carried out by May 10.

Federal loan guarantees would be available during this time for operations and equipment repairs, and the government would take a low position in the list of creditors should the Milwaukee default on the loans.

The immediacy of the Milwaukee's problems also may spur efforts on behalf of railroad deregulation, a top priority of the Carter administration. Proponents contend deregulation would prevent situations like the Milwaukee because it would allow the railroads to operate with more flexibility in setting their own rates and abandoning unprofitable lines.

Formally named the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, the Milwaukee Road winds through 16 states, from Illinois to Washington. Industrial centers, such as Chicago, the Twin Cities, Duluth and Kansas City, are concentrated in the Midwest core of the system.

The company's financial problems were caused partly by the volume and location of traffic, Milwaukee and government officials say.

"The extension of the Milwaukee to the West Coast [in 1909] was a mistake. And we're trying to correct that mistake," said Wallace Abbey, Milwaukee corporate communications director.

The Milwaukee filed for reorganization under the bankruptcy law in 1977. It had lost \$100 million in the previous three years and has continued to decline, losing \$64 million in the first half of this year.

The ICC has tentatively approved a plan directing another company, at taxpayers' expense, to operate temporarily on portions of the western track until the ICC determines, sometime next year, whether those routes should be abandoned.

©1979, Congressional Quarterly, Inc.

NUCLEAR WASTE

Chicanos protest location of dump site

By Sue Martinez

LOVING, N.M.

"IT'S NO COINCIDENCE THAT the state with a 52 percent Third World population—46 percent Chicano and six percent Indian—has been chosen to be the country's first permanent nuclear waste dump," said Antonio Carrasco. He is one of the organizers of the Florencia Survival Gathering, held late in September to protest the area's selection as the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) site.

Though 90 million cubic feet of nuclear waste is now accumulating in temporary storage sites in South Carolina, Idaho and Washington, and in deepwater pools beside the nation's 72 operating nuclear reactors, the Department of Energy (DOE) apparently hopes eventually to transport all of it for burial in the Carlsbad salt beds. The 18,960 acres is large enough to hold all the nuclear wastes produced "well into the 21st century." Though WIPP was originally announced as a repository only for defense wastes, the DOE has expanded its initial plan to include 1,000 spent fuel rods from commercial reactors. These high-level contaminants would be located only 17 miles from the residents of Loving, N.M.

"People ask us why we would call a demonstration in the middle of nowhere, but the first thing we tell them

is that that's a myth perpetuated by the government and the bourgeois press," Antonio continued. "This is peoples' home and has been for hundreds of years."

Loving is the name the federal government imposed on the town, though much of the community—which is 85 percent Chicano—still refers to it by its original Mexican name of Florencia. The same sort of government and corporate imposition which stripped the native peoples of their land and water rights is now trying to force the WIPP site on an unwilling populace.

"A congressional poll showed 65 percent of the area's residents opposed to it; the *Roswell Daily Record* found only one in 10 for it; and in my own Chihuahueta barrio I couldn't find one person in favor of it," Frank Sanchez, an activist from nearby Roswell, said.

It's little wonder, since many scientists—whose conventions have agreed that there's no safe way of disposing of nuclear wastes—feel that burying them in salt beds is one of the worst possible solutions. According to Dr. George Wald, Nobel Prize winner in physiology, all experiments with burying the contaminants in salt in glass tubes as planned show the elements heating up to 300 to 400 degrees Fahrenheit and breaking the glass within two weeks, then sinking "like lead" until they reach the water table.

The ensuing groundwater contamination would not only poison the environment for Florencia's residents,

who are mostly farmers, but would also threaten the Pecos River which runs from New Mexico to Texas and into the Gulf of Mexico. The DOE itself also predicts at least eight "accidents" per year throughout New Mexico during the transporting of the wastes, which would pass through almost every major community and Indian reservation in the state.

Though officials are busy assuring residents that WIPP is safe and will create good jobs, government documents show southern New Mexico slated as another national sacrifice area—eventually becoming unfit for human habitation with contamination lasting 250,000 years.

The state has already experienced 35 years of uranium mining and milling, with 25 Navajo miners of the Laguna Pueblo dying so far from apparently radiation-induced cancer and 100 of their children being born with birth defects last year. It also provides storage for some 60 percent of the nation's nuclear warheads in the Monzano Mountains, houses the White Sands Missile test range and has for decades been used for underground testing of nuclear weapons developed at the Los Alamos laboratory. The mainly Chicano community of San Mateo has twice had its wells contaminated as a result of drilling in the world's longest uranium mine shaft at Mt. Taylor (and is currently receiving bottled water through the Gulf Oil Company). And in July of this

year, United Nuclear's tailings pond dam burst at Churchrock, N.M., pouring more radiation into the Rio Puerto River (which feeds into the Colorado River and beyond) than was released in the entire disaster at Three Mile Island.

Though hearings are taking place on various strategies for waste disposal, most local observers feel that without public outcry, establishment of the WIPP site at Carlsbad is a virtual certainty. The DOE is pushing for rapid implementation. Bulldozing and other work on the \$400 million project, which would be completed in 1986, has already begun.

The ultimate decision may rest on President Carter, who could give the go-ahead to WIPP, insist on examining a wider range of sites, or defer making any decision because of the political climate. With federal agencies other than the DOE split on WIPP's feasibility, Florencia organizers hope that raising public knowledge of the issues involved will help safeguard their area.

But the Chicano-led coalition is not merely seeking to have the waste moved to someone else's backyard. After examination of the health hazards involved, the group held its event in conjunction with actions on the same date in Barnswell, South Carolina; Hanford, Wash.; and West Valley, N.Y., all opposing waste dumping and calling for the immediate shutdown of the nuclear industry.

NG

IN THESE TIMES OCTOBER 31–NOVEMBER 6, 1979

A black and white photograph showing a man in a light shirt and dark pants standing on a balcony, looking down at a woman in a light sweater who is reaching up towards him. Another person is partially visible on the right side of the frame.

205777

White's initial response to the acts of violence in Birmingham was typically to ignore it. In 1963, the Alabama

During my visits, I have consistently

Tickets:
\$6 at gate
\$5 advance
Free childcare
Signing for the
caring impaired
and their access
846-7606/55

The latter will have to control the new budgetary and financial institutions which may also have to be established in some cases. In general, however, the role of the managers of private financial institutions is richer in the context of the new policies being put in place. The managers will have much more to do with the new type of financial institutions, and will be more involved in national planning.

1. 1944-1945 - 1946-1947 - 1948-1949 - 1950-1951 - 1952-1953 - 1954-1955 - 1956-1957 - 1958-1959 - 1960-1961 - 1962-1963 - 1964-1965 - 1966-1967 - 1968-1969 - 1970-1971 - 1972-1973 - 1974-1975 - 1976-1977 - 1978-1979 - 1980-1981 - 1982-1983 - 1984-1985 - 1986-1987 - 1988-1989 - 1990-1991 - 1992-1993 - 1994-1995 - 1996-1997 - 1998-1999 - 2000-2001 - 2002-2003 - 2004-2005 - 2006-2007 - 2008-2009 - 2010-2011 - 2012-2013 - 2014-2015 - 2016-2017 - 2018-2019 - 2020-2021 - 2022-2023 - 2024-2025 - 2026-2027 - 2028-2029 - 2030-2031 - 2032-2033 - 2034-2035 - 2036-2037 - 2038-2039 - 2040-2041 - 2042-2043 - 2044-2045 - 2046-2047 - 2048-2049 - 2050-2051 - 2052-2053 - 2054-2055 - 2056-2057 - 2058-2059 - 2060-2061 - 2062-2063 - 2064-2065 - 2066-2067 - 2068-2069 - 2070-2071 - 2072-2073 - 2074-2075 - 2076-2077 - 2078-2079 - 2080-2081 - 2082-2083 - 2084-2085 - 2086-2087 - 2088-2089 - 2090-2091 - 2092-2093 - 2094-2095 - 2096-2097 - 2098-2099 - 2100-2101 - 2102-2103 - 2104-2105 - 2106-2107 - 2108-2109 - 2110-2111 - 2112-2113 - 2114-2115 - 2116-2117 - 2118-2119 - 2120-2121 - 2122-2123 - 2124-2125 - 2126-2127 - 2128-2129 - 2130-2131 - 2132-2133 - 2134-2135 - 2136-2137 - 2138-2139 - 2140-2141 - 2142-2143 - 2144-2145 - 2146-2147 - 2148-2149 - 2150-2151 - 2152-2153 - 2154-2155 - 2156-2157 - 2158-2159 - 2160-2161 - 2162-2163 - 2164-2165 - 2166-2167 - 2168-2169 - 2170-2171 - 2172-2173 - 2174-2175 - 2176-2177 - 2178-2179 - 2180-2181 - 2182-2183 - 2184-2185 - 2186-2187 - 2188-2189 - 2190-2191 - 2192-2193 - 2194-2195 - 2196-2197 - 2198-2199 - 2200-2201 - 2202-2203 - 2204-2205 - 2206-2207 - 2208-2209 - 2210-2211 - 2212-2213 - 2214-2215 - 2216-2217 - 2218-2219 - 2220-2221 - 2222-2223 - 2224-2225 - 2226-2227 - 2228-2229 - 2230-2231 - 2232-2233 - 2234-2235 - 2236-2237 - 2238-2239 - 2240-2241 - 2242-2243 - 2244-2245 - 2246-2247 - 2248-2249 - 2250-2251 - 2252-2253 - 2254-2255 - 2256-2257 - 2258-2259 - 2260-2261 - 2262-2263 - 2264-2265 - 2266-2267 - 2268-2269 - 2270-2271 - 2272-2273 - 2274-2275 - 2276-2277 - 2278-2279 - 2280-2281 - 2282-2283 - 2284-2285 - 2286-2287 - 2288-2289 - 2290-2291 - 2292-2293 - 2294-2295 - 2296-2297 - 2298-2299 - 2300-2301 - 2302-2303 - 2304-2305 - 2306-2307 - 2308-2309 - 2310-2311 - 2312-2313 - 2314-2315 - 2316-2317 - 2318-2319 - 2320-2321 - 2322-2323 - 2324-2325 - 2326-2327 - 2328-2329 - 2330-2331 - 2332-2333 - 2334-2335 - 2336-2337 - 2338-2339 - 2340-2341 - 2342-2343 - 2344-2345 - 2346-2347 - 2348-2349 - 2350-2351 - 2352-2353 - 2354-2355 - 2356-2357 - 2358-2359 - 2360-2361 - 2362-2363 - 2364-2365 - 2366-2367 - 2368-2369 - 2370-2371 - 2372-2373 - 2374-2375 - 2376-2377 - 2378-2379 - 2380-2381 - 2382-2383 - 2384-2385 - 2386-2387 - 2388-2389 - 2390-2391 - 2392-2393 - 2394-2395 - 2396-2397 - 2398-2399 - 2400-2401 - 2402-2403 - 2404-2405 - 2406-2407 - 2408-2409 - 2410-2411 - 2412-2413 - 2414-2415 - 2416-2417 - 2418-2419 - 2420-2421 - 2422-2423 - 2424-2425 - 2426-2427 - 2428-2429 - 2430-2431 - 2432-2433 - 2434-2435 - 2436-2437 - 2438-2439 - 2440-2441 - 2442-2443 - 2444-2445 - 2446-2447 - 2448-2449 - 2450-2451 - 2452-2453 - 2454-2455

1. Name of the form with payment to:
 2. Institution for church:
 3. Name of the walk:
 4. Date of the walk, FR 1913:
 5. 1913-1875

By Bill Thomas

PORTLAND, ORE.

OVER THE LAST DECADES, Oregon has been known more for rain, environmentalism and visions of an "ecotopia" than for a radical labor movement. The "Wobblies"—the Industrial Workers of the World—and later the Communist Party were strong in this part of the country, but that was long ago.

Recently, however, there have been stirrings that promise more to come.

Unlike the Northeast, the Pacific Northwest never developed strong industrial labor unions in major manufacturing industries—with the exception of the Machinists union at Boeing Aerospace at Seattle. Oregon's economy has been almost totally dominated by the wood products industry, controlled by companies like Georgia-Pacific, Weyerhaeuser and Crown Zellerbach.

Yet the same social forces that have been at work in industrial states from Ohio to Massachusetts have affected Oregon. Plant shutdowns and layoffs have been devastating communities and, indirectly, revitalizing the labor movement.

For years, little mill towns have dotted Oregon. When one of these mills shuts down, all too frequently the entire town—and dreams of security and independence—dies with it. Thus it may not be surprising that in this corner of the U.S. the recent state convention of the otherwise moderate AFL-CIO—in what delegates called the most important act of the convention—unanimously passed a resolution demanding the most comprehensive state legislation plant closings and layoffs that has been proposed in any state in the union.

Low non-union wages.

The continuing concentration of investment in multi-national conglomerates, promises of unorganized workers and massive tax breaks in the sunbelt and the attraction of labor at wages close to Third World rates has resulted in the abandonment of much industrial plant in America. In recent years, community movements have been built to save jobs. Some states, with the threat of shrinking tax bases, have yielded to pressure for regulating the speed of closings and insuring the rights of severance pay and related concerns. (See *ITT Shutdown series*, July).

While not new in the wood products industry, mill shutdowns have been dramatically increasing. Since January, the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) has lost over 3000 members in this part of the country, largely as a result of closings. The export of logs to Japan and the import of finished products has accelerated this process, but a key factor has been centralization. Many of these actions have been unrelated to profitability, but carried out to achieve better control over vast empires of timber lands, lumber, plywood and paper mills and other manufacturing operations. Peoples' homes, families, communities and sometimes their very lives have been destroyed by corporate priorities.

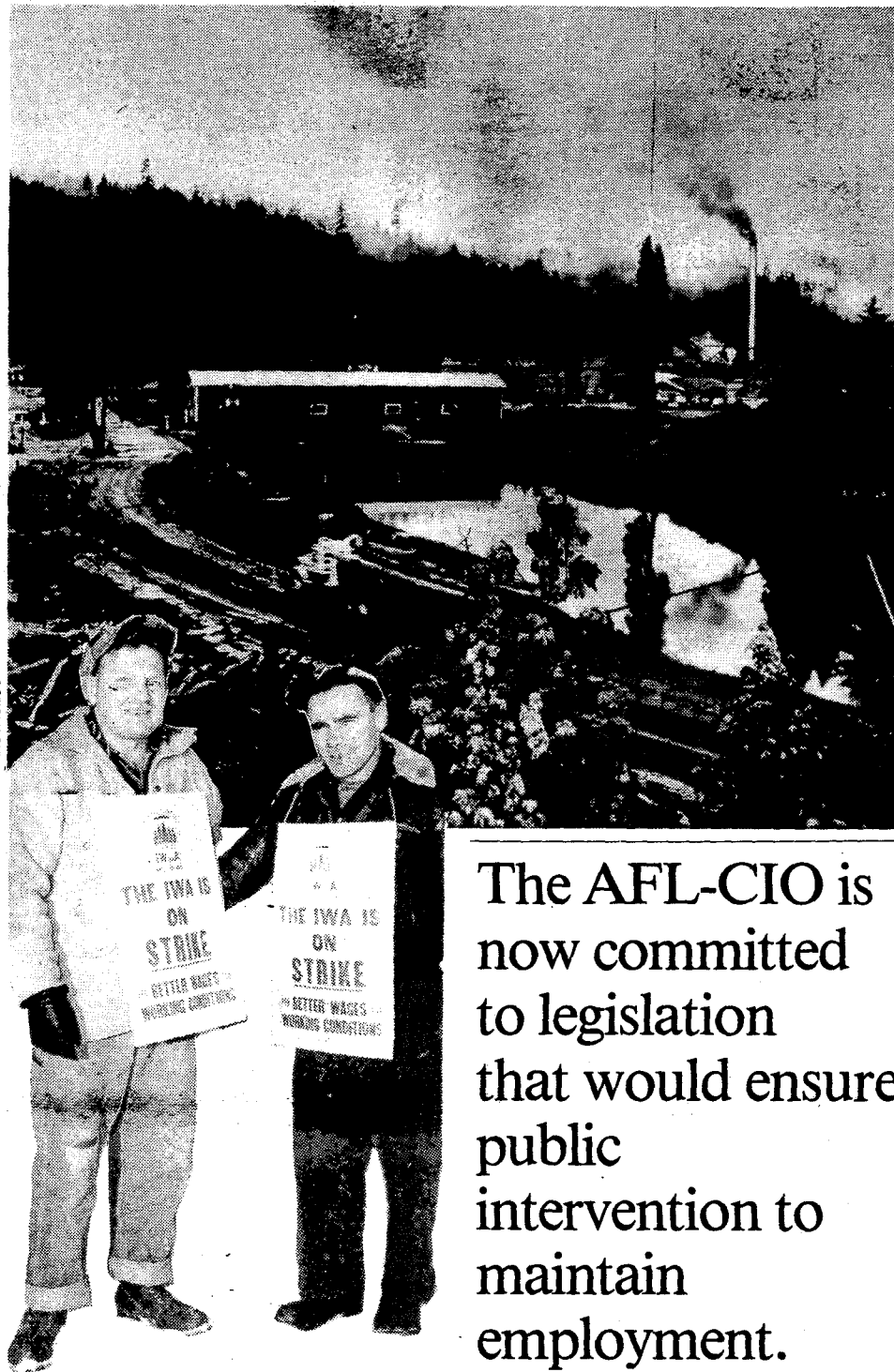
Co-ops and politics.

Historically, particularly since World War II, it has not been uncommon for groups of employees to buy out an operation when a mill closes, setting up a co-op and preventing the death of a town. Yet over the past few decades, as the industry has become increasingly concentrated, the co-op alternative has been less possible, and fewer communities have been saved. For example, one of the major companies was closing a mill in Westfir, a small town near Eugene and the University of Oregon. After months of struggle and talks with the owners, a community group was prepared to buy the mill and began raising money. Abruptly, the company broke off negotiations and sold the mill to another corporation.

The Westfir employees had been working closely with a "counter-culture" co-op of tree planters that had

LABOR

Oregon unions vote to curb runaways



The AFL-CIO is now committed to legislation that would ensure public intervention to maintain employment.

been established in the Eugene area in the late '60s. This group—the Hodads—had developed one of the most effective political organizations in the state, capable of influencing both local politics and the Oregon legislature. Further, they had become convinced that the rash of mill closures has little to with immediate profitability. Consequently, they approached state senator Ted Kulongoski, and asked for help in putting together a piece of legislation that would provide State assistance—technical know-how, legal support and loans—to groups of workers wishing to form co-ops in the face of mill closures.

Kulongoski, currently a candidate in the Democratic primary to challenge Bob Packwood for the U.S. Senate, is a labor lawyer with a liberal reputation and a radical perspective. He agreed to write a bill that combined the features of prior notification found in many state proposals, and the technical assistance for forming co-ops desired by the Hodads. When introduced, however, the bill was sent to Trade and Economic Development, a pocket veto committee of the conservative Democratic president of the state senate (a national spokesman for the balanced budget amendment). Kulongoski and the Hodads did not have the political clout to move the bill to the more sympathetic labor committee.

Labor and DSOC.

During this same period, the local Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) chapter had been following, with considerable interest, the development of bills in midwestern and northeastern states concerning plant closures. They recognized that for any

bill of this type to have even minimal chance of passage in Oregon, it must have the solid backing of organized labor.

Even with such support, a broad political base would be required to overcome the opposition of business interests, led by the Association of Oregon Industries. Yet the Kulongoski bill did not have labor support, largely because it had been written for the co-ops.

The dual character of co-ops both as employees and employers had led to a history of antagonism between the AFL-CIO in Oregon and the co-op movement.

This animosity came to a head in the 1977 legislature when a labor-backed bill to eliminate private insurers from the workers' compensation system failed because the Hodads had lobbied against parts of this reform. Overcoming this conflict was the first hurdle for a plant closing bill to have any chance.

DSOC members worked with Kulongoski, the Hodads and the AFL-CIO lobbyist to develop the outlines of a much broader bill focused on democratic planning to prevent unemployment as a result of business shutdown or layoff decisions. There was much more in this bill for labor, which included assistance to co-ops. The bill died in committee, as expected, but a political coalition had been established.

The AFL-CIO Convention.

DSOC saw only one hope for passage of progressive legislation on plant closings. A coalition between unions, co-ops, environmentalists and other constituencies in the state with a stake in extending democratic control over decisions concerning capital and jobs was required. The centerpiece of this coalition had to be the labor movement.

Based on this view, DSOC drafted a resolution for the state AFL-CIO convention that would commit labor to comprehensive state legislation to mitigate the impact of economic dislocation on workers and communities, and would insure public intervention to maintain high employment levels. Three principles were identified as underpinning this legislation:

- Both state government and employers threatening job losses through layoffs, relocations, shutdowns or other closures would have legal responsibility to prevent workers from becoming unemployed;
- Both affected employees and their communities would have legal rights to expect compensation, as well as public services and financial assistance;
- Compensation, services and assistance would be financed by employers as a risk of doing business.

Twenty specific provisions for such legislation included mandatory advance notice (one year for closings, six months for layoffs), full corporate financial disclosures, mandatory state studies of causes, impacts and alternatives; democratic planning procedures involving the state, employers, unions and communities; assistance for worker or community buy-outs; severance pay, retraining, relocation assistance and public works and service jobs when needed; mandatory listing of all jobs with the state; community compensation for loss of tax revenues; and a public investment fund from business revenues.

This resolution was presented by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers to the Oregon State Industrial Union Council (OSIUC), which has remained independent of the AFL-CIO since the CIO merger and meets immediately before the Federation Convention. The resolution had the backing of an informal left caucus of delegates from ACTWU, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Oregon Federation of Teachers (OFT), Communication Workers of America (CWA) and other unions identifying with the Progressive Alliance. Yet the critical question mark was the International Woodworkers position.

The IWA is the largest union in the state, with international headquarters in Portland. Yet, while the Canadian section of the IWA has a strong socialist tradition and close ties to the New Democratic Party in British Columbia, the U.S. northwest region has a long history of anti-communism and conservatism. Nevertheless, the IWA delegation, aware of the implications of the union's heavy membership losses to plant closings, refused to have one word changed of this long and complicated resolution and made impassioned speeches for its passage. The result was unanimous support with a standing ovation, one of the high points of the OSIUC meeting. With this strong endorsement, the resolution sailed through the state AFL-CIO convention.

The future.

Some important if still fragile bridges have been built between the labor movement and community activists as a result of work on this plant issue. Of particular political significance has been the unqualified support offered by the Woodworkers.

Most social progress in the U.S. has occurred at the state level before it has been successful at the federal level, including many of the New Deal reforms. State reforms have helped build legislative and political foundations for national legislation. The labor movement in Oregon is just beginning to realize that it cannot go it alone but needs to work in coalition with minorities, feminists, environmentalists and other movements to implement its own agenda.

Bill Thomas teaches social work at Portland State University and is a National Board member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Copies of Oregon bills can be obtained by writing him at 3037 N.E. 18th St. Portland, Ore. 97212.

EL SALVADOR

Three paths are open in wake of coup

By Blase Bonpane

LOS ANGELES

ONE IS AN ARCHBISHOP. THE other was a general. They shared neither family nor ideology. They were on opposite sides of a revolution. The archbishop, Oscar Romero, is a Nobel Peace Prize nominee as a result of his identification with the oppressed in El Salvador. His priests are with him. But the price is high. Recently, Father Alvaro Napoleon Macias was machine gunned to death as he celebrated mass. He was the sixth priest murdered since 1977.

Eleven others were being sought by death squads and have fled the country. Sixteen priests were either deported or prevented from entering the country. Innumerable Catholics have been either killed, tortured, "disappeared" or imprisoned.

In the current crisis the Church served as a rallying point for the overthrow of Carlos Humberto Romero, the dictatorial servant of oligarchy. This Romero was part of a loyal military tradition which has carried out the intentions of the ruling families for decades.

Recently 249 priests, nuns and religious brothers gathered to reflect on Macias' death, the situation in El Salvador and the Church. They circulated a declaration holding the government of Romero responsible for the murder of Father Macias. Eye witnesses are cited who recognized the killers as members of the official security forces. This murder is seen as another repressive act against the Church that has placed itself on the side of the unjustly dispossessed and is fighting so that in El Salvador there might be a more just, more human social order where there is no more exploitation of one person by another. The government was warned by the clergy and religious that if it continued to unconstitutionally block a just way out of the social chaos, the people would have to set out down "unthought of paths to a solution."

The Salvadorean Church leadership believes that institutional injustice and structural violence are compounded by the government's oppressive violence. They count 405 dead and 307 captured in the first six months of 1979.

The Church maintains, "For every peasant and worker who falls, 10 rise up to struggle. For every priest murdered, the Church's commitment increases. There is only one road to peace, the road of justice." Under the leadership of Archbishop Romero the clergy's position on electoral law, return of exiles and international inspection of the human rights situation has been clear. "The Church we represent does not believe in reformist words drowned out by bursts of machine gun fire."

And, finally, "To announce the right of peasant organization in order to defend their interests and to obtain the political order they desire, to help them achieve their goals, to denounce the abuses committed by those in power, is not communism or subversion. It is an obligation derived from the gospel."

What avenues are open?

But what political avenues are available for the archbishop or anyone else interested in a solution? First there is electoral politics. But electoral politics have no credibility in El Salvador. Everyone considers the 1972 and 1977 elections to have been fraudulent. The electoral option is called the Union of National Opposition (UNO), a coalition the Nationalist Democratic Union which is an electoral front for the clandestine Salvadorean Communist Party. The communists were one of the first opposition groups to give their support to the new military junta in El Salvador.



El Salvador's new military leaders at a press conference, Oct. 16, where they promised to end corruption and redistribute the nation's wealth. Seated are Col. Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, left, and Col. Adolfo Arnoldo Mjano.

The oligarchy is now divided. One faction supports reforms that would end corruption, another favors hard line military rule.

UNO also includes the Christian Democratic Party and the National Revolutionary Movement, a social democratic group.

The Christian Democrat, Napoleon Duarte, was considered by most serious analysts to have been the winner of the 1972 elections and a substantial number of Salvadoreans would support him today. But can Duarte or any other person of good will operate freely under an oligarchic military structure? Latin American does not need a repeat of the Chilean case of 1973.

Then there is the logical step after a failure of electoral politics; the art of mass mobilization. Archbishop Romero has clearly supported such activities.

"We believe people have the right to organize and the right to have their organization recognized politically. We will be open to dialogue when the oppression, crimes and violations of human rights cease," he said.

There are three street groups of mass mobilization in El Salvador; The Popular Leagues of February 28 (LP-28), the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) and the Popular Unity Action Front (FAPU). These quasi-legal organizations are coalitions of workers, peasants, students, slum dwellers and Christian activists. The actions of the street groups have generally been without arms and have included occupations of embassies, land, churches and factories. Their mass demonstrations have been held in support of striking urban and rural workers, demands for the release of political prisoners and an end to oppression and violence.

At this time in El Salvador it seems both possible and probable that these three coalitions unite into one powerful entity. But the prophetic words of John Kennedy must be considered here, "Those who make peaceful change impossible make violent change inevitable." Hence there is clandestine

armed struggle. Many people from the mass mobilizations have filtered into guerrilla organizations after seeing unarmed demonstrators shot down in cold blood.

A defense against violence.

Such groups are understood to be a defense against institutional violence which condemns the average Salvadoran to live on less than \$100 per year and to lack access to sufficient food, decent housing, medical care or education.

But contrary to the situation in Nicaragua, the Salvadorean business community is strongly allied with the military government. In Nicaragua an important sector of the business community openly supported the Sandinistas.

In 1971 the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL) and the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) both decided that armed struggle was a necessity in El Salvador. Both groups were directed to the formation of a democratic socialist government. Internal differences in the two groups led to the formation of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) in 1975. There are at least some analogies between these three Salvadorean armed groups and the three tendencies of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. The FARN recently announced that all three groups are now united.

The armed groups intend to eradicate economic dependency. They have accepted credit for the kidnapping of Japanese, European and North American business people. Ransom has included the release of political prisoners, publication of revolutionary positions in the international press and money. Transnational business has been affected. There were 2,400 Japanese businessmen in San Salvador. There are now 200. A new guerrilla group, the Trotskyist Revolutionary Party of Cen-

tral American Workers (PRTC) claims to be the source of the kidnapping of two business executives and has demanded major international press statements in return for their release.

All institutional security forces have been targeted by the armed resistance. In addition to the police and the army there are two organizations of institutional terror; the White Warriors Union (UGB), a clandestine hit squad that has murdered priests and intellectuals of the resistance and *Orden*. The Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States (OAS) group called for the "immediate disbanding of the feared paramilitary squad known as *Orden*, which serves as a network of spying and oppression throughout the country."

Oligarchy split.

In the midst of this open revolution the oligarchy is now divided. Francisco de Sola heads the faction promoting reform. But the Hill and Duenas families favor a hard line military solution. The Salvadorean Association of Industrialists, which claims to represent the producers of a fifth of the country's GNP and to employ 200,000 workers, is demanding a "return to legality including an end to corruption." Archbishop Oscar Romero was one of the few progressive prelates allowed to serve as a delegate to the Conference of Latin American Bishops in January. If he is faithful to the documents published at Puebla, Mexico, he will condemn "capitalist liberalism, the violence of the states and the doctrine of national security." On the other hand, the documents of the conference do not oblige him to condemn "theology of liberation, Marxism as a methodology of analysis, nor socialism as a historical alternative."

Archbishop Romero may have the answer to the deposed General Romero. It would not be out of line for the prelate to accept a measure of political leadership in El Salvador now that the irreversible realignment is taking place.

The acceptance or rejection of the new Salvadorean military junta must be an indigenous decision. It will also be a test of the unity and integration of political methods in Central America.

Blase Bonpane is a sociology professor at California State University at Northridge and a specialist in Central America.

There is no good reason, I suppose, to feel duped by Ralph Fasanella. After all, the garrulous artist has warned us amply of his prejudices in news articles, interviews and the handsome book about his paintings, *Fasanella's City* (Knopf). Nor is it especially surprising that the United Steelworkers of America should have singled out Fasanella as an artist worthy of their support. One must admit there are not many painters who toil, as Fasanella does, to produce factory scenes and labor memorials.

In *Fasanella's City* the artist and former union organizer makes it clear how he judges his chosen audience: "I've always been involved with masses of people. Oh, I looked at guys, I had my heroes, baseball heroes, fighters, politicians, sure. But I don't like big shots. When it got right down to it I always looked at people in the total mass...I say, 'What's this little guy here, who's trying to learn something just like me? I might as well talk to him. He's part of the mass, like me. And these people aren't stupid, either. Imprisoned in their work, sure. But give 'em a chance once in a while! To talk to each other! Think things out!...People aren't stupid.'"

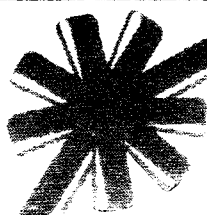
So none of us non-stupid masses should feel duped by Ralph Fasanella. He has warned us that he seeks to mirror his "littleness" in our own. He has prepared us to feel patronized by the tawdry "ordinariness" he celebrates in his current (through November 24), steelworker-sponsored show at Chicago's Columbia College Gallery.

Nevertheless, the anger rises to the choking point. As it does when a wide-windowed three-flat is wrecked and replaced by the silent misdemeanor of a slab-concrete high-rise. As it does when awning-shaded luncheonettes give way to golden arches. And when backyards get plowed into parking lots. There is an overwhelming frustration about it all. In every case the pleasures of social contact are denied by structures designed to promote social evasion—the concrete slabs shield their tenants from view; golden arches know no cook, no habits, no street address; parking lots never ask cars to account for their comings and goings. Similarly, Fasanella's canvases deny us access to the visual and emotional planes of human perceptions. They taunt and tease us with their size, their clutter of banal slogans, clichés and noises. There is everything here that



WORK AS ART

By Nao Hauser



Holiday Gift Package

The Insider's **CUBA**

February 9-23, 1980

*A 15 day, personalized, 1,500 mile tour
arranged exclusively for our readers*



This is your perfect opportunity to enjoy a winter vacation while examining socialism in Cuba through its political institutions.

Our tour begins in New York, with a special orientation session from Cuban specialist Dr. Phillip Brenner, professor of Political Science at the University of Maryland and director of the doctoral program at the Institute for Policy Studies, who will accompany us throughout the tour.

From New York you'll fly to Cuba for our 1500 mile tour that includes the cities of Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Camaguey, Santa Clara and Matanzas as well as smaller towns throughout the country.

During your visit, you will meet officials of the new electoral system (Poder Popular), the Women's Federation, the Federation of Cuban Workers, the Communist Party, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the judicial system. If possible, you'll also attend sessions of a trial, a popular assembly meeting and a CDR meeting.

You'll also enjoy:

- Free time to roam the major cities.
- A day to leisurely visit the beach (temperatures in Havana should be in the upper 70s or lower 80s).
- Visits to Cuban schools, museums, health care facilities and factories.
- A visit to Guantanamo,
- An exclusive interview with Cuban literary figures.

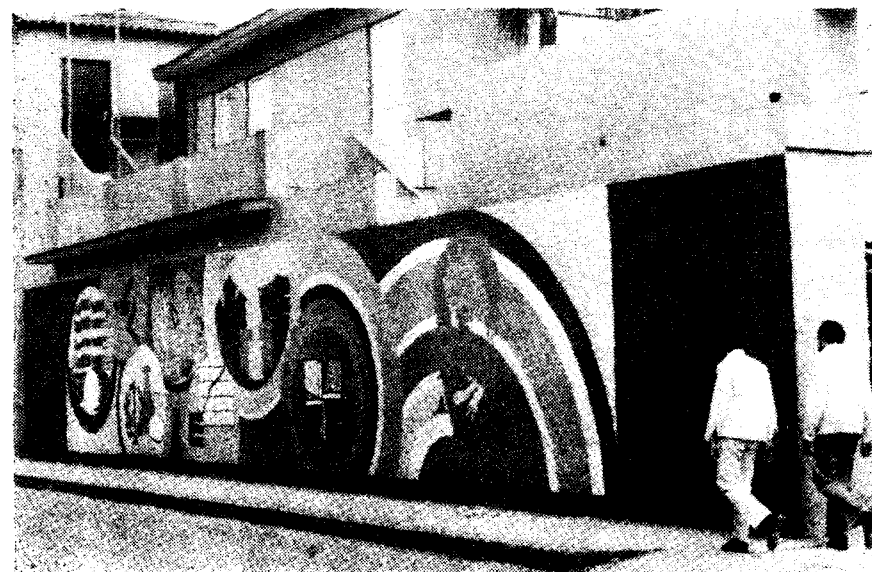
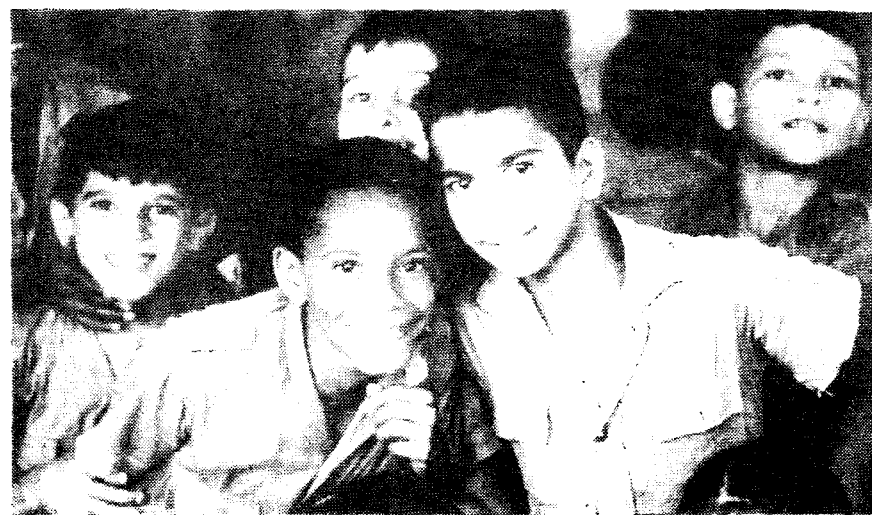
*The price of our exclusive tour is
only \$1,295. All accommodations
are at first class/air conditioned
hotels. All meals are included
and the price is based on
double occupancy.*

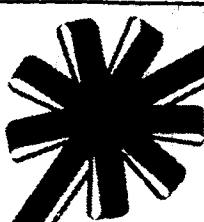
*For information contact:
Dr. Phillip Brenner or Al Staats
Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q
St., N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 234- 9382*

Arranged through



ANNIVERSARY TOURS Inc.





Holiday Gift Package

RECORDS FROM PAREDON

P-101 CANCION PROTESTA
Protest songs of Latin America performed by revolutionary artists of Cuba, Argentina, Chile and Peru. Sung in Spanish. Recorded in Cuba.

P-101 CUBA VA! Songs of the new generation in revolutionary Cuba, by Pablo Milanes, Noel Nicola & Silvio Rodrigues. Sung in Spanish.

P-1011 DANIEL VIGILIETTI—Tear Down the Fences! One of the great Latin American revolutionary singers, singing songs of the Uruguayan struggle and of the continent. "A master of vocal shadings...he chills the blood." (Nat Hentoff, Village Voice)

P-1014 I HATE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM—BARBARA DANE. Songs of the U.S. working class and the struggle against oppression. Includes "Working Class Woman," "Things are so Slow," etc. "Magisterial... Even apolitical people should make an effort to hear her."—New York Times.

P-1019 THE QUILAPAYUN. The outstanding Chilean political song group performs the epic work, "The Siege of Santa Maria de Iquique." Sung in Spanish.

P-1024 BEVERLY GRANT & THE HUMAN CONDITION—Working People Gonna Rise! "Good hard rock and roll with some politics to it is pretty hard to come by these days, but the Human Condition has done it, and done it well." (New American Movement).

P-1028 BERNICE REAGON: Give Your Hands to Struggle. Songs documenting the evolution of a

freedom singer and the freedom movement. "As fine a singer as can be heard in the U.S." SING OUT!

P-1030 CHILE: SONGS FOR THE RESISTANCE. Anthology of contemporary Chilean resistance songs performed for and compiled by MIR.

P-1035 VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE! Anthology of the most important songs and singers of the Puerto Rican independence movement. Includes Roy Brown, Noel Hernandez, Andres Jimenez, Pepe Sanchez and others.

P-1038 NEW HARMONY SISTERHOOD BAND—And Ain't I a Woman? Songs of women's emancipation and class struggle. "Authentic people's music—clear, concise, simple...and socially and politically motivated."—Equal Times.

P-1039 IRELAND: THE FINAL STRUGGLE Sung by the Men of No Property. New songs as timely as the latest news reports from the streets of Belfast and Derry. Sung by a group that combines contemporary political conviction with the best of the Irish musical tradition.

P-2003 WHAT NOW PEOPLE? The third collection in this "song magazine on record" series. Features new songs by Pete Seeger, Country Diction, Kristin Lems, Ruthie Gorton, Red Shadow, Si Kahn, Lucha and others.

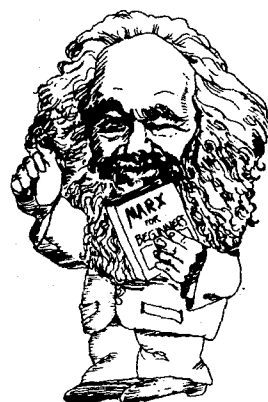
All records are top quality, long playings discs.

\$6.00 each.

Postage: 75¢ for the first record, 25¢ for each additional record

BOOKS FROM PANTHEON PRESS

(Add 50¢ postage and handling for each book)



THE DOCUMENTARY COMIC BOOKS

Marx for Beginners by Rius. Amusing, irreverent, sophisticated yet highly accessible. An appealing introduction to Marx's life and thought, aimed at the intelligent reader who may never have dared to pick up *Capital*. 160 pp. \$2.95 paper.

The Anti-Nuclear Handbook by Stephen Croall with illustrations by Kaianders. Everything you need to know about nuclear energy in war, in peace, in your neighborhood. An eye-opening account of the perils of the nuclear age. 144 pp. \$2.95 paper.

Lenin for Beginners by Richard Appignanesi. Solidly researched, clever, and sophisticated, this is the perfect introduction to the vast body of Lenin's writings. A wonderful take-off point for the intelligent reader. 176 pp. \$2.95 paper.

The House of Hunger: A Novella and Short Stories by Dambudzo Marechera. To read Marechera's House of Hunger is to be trapped like thousands of black Zimbabweans in a landscape of hell. Makes a mockery of the "White Rhodesia" most Americans know from newspaper headlines. 166 pp. \$7.95 cloth.

Hidden Terrors by A.J. Langguth. A dramatically written suspense story about Dan Mitrione, the U.S. police advisor who gained international attention in 1970 when he was kidnapped and later murdered by Uruguayan guerillas. "A powerful indictment of what the United States helped to bring about in this hemisphere." The New York Times. 352 pp. \$3.95 paper.

The Policing of Families by Jacques Donzelot. Donzelot rewrites the history of the family in the last two centuries—and from the vantage point of the family, reconstructs the history of society. An insightful overview of the forces brought to bear on the family to make it serve society's values. 224 pp. \$10.00 cloth, \$4.95 paper.

FROM MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS

(Add 50¢ postage and handling for each book)

Introduction to Socialism by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. Selections from their writings present in clear and direct language, the basic elements of the socialist critiques of capitalist society. \$2.50 paper.

How Capitalism Works by Pierre Jalee. Written in easily accessible language yet rigorous in its approach, this is a very readable presentation of the workings of the world capitalist system. \$3.95 paper.

Man's Worldly Goods: The Story of the Wealth of Nations by Leo Huberman. "No one can read this book and ever again say that history is dull."—Harold J. Laski. \$6.50 paper.

We, the People: The Drama of America by Leo Huberman (Illustrated by Thomas Hart Benton) "A new and revised edition of a classic history of the plain people of America...Simply and excitingly written."—Matthew Josephson. \$5.95 paper.

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist by Robert Tressel. "This is an exhilarating book, a rare combination of wonderful reading and a political work in the truest

sense of the term."—Radical America A Great Socialist Novel. \$7.50 paper.

Death on The Job: Occupational Health and Safety Struggles in The United States by Daniel M. Berman. "An essential weapon in the battle to improve industrial and public health"—Barry Commoner. \$12.95 cloth.

Big Steel: Politics and Corporate Power in Gary, Indiana by Edward Greer. Based on the author's experience in helping to reelect a Black Mayor, this book analyzes the limits of urban reform in our political economy. \$16.50 cloth.

The Energy Crisis: World Struggle for Power and Wealth by Michael Tenzer. "An informed, useful and readable book that answers many of the questions readers may have had about the energy crisis..."—William K. Tabb, The Nation. \$4.50 paper.

The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays by E.P. Thompson. "A fierce and uncompromising attack on Louis Althusser and the 'structural' Marxisms that have been spawned under his influence."—John Mepham, The Manchester Guardian Weekly. \$16.00 cloth.

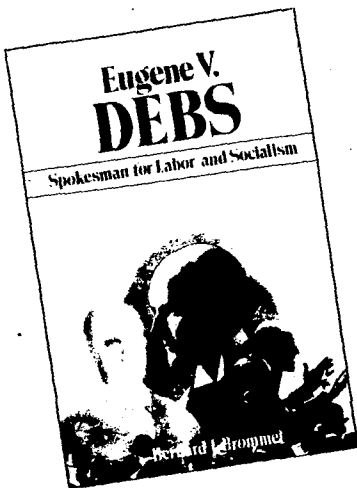
BOOKS FROM CHARLES H. KERR

(Add \$1.00 for each book ordered)

Eugene V. Debs, Spokesman for Labor and Socialism by Bernard Brommel. Debs helped found the American Railway Union, the Socialist Party of America and the IWW. He spoke out against World War I and ran for president from an Atlanta penitentiary. Debs remains America's unrivaled spokesman for Socialism. This study helps us understand why. \$15.00 cloth, \$5.95 paper.

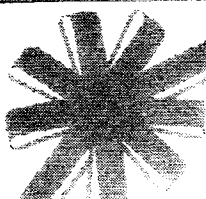
Lucy Parson, American Revolutionary by Carolyn Ashbaugh. For 55 years this black woman championed workers struggles in diverse organizations. This is her story. \$10.00 cloth, \$4.50 paper.

The Autobiography of Mother Jones. Mother Jones inspired strikers for 50 years. Her memoirs inspire readers today. \$10.00 cloth, \$4.50 paper.



Haymarket Revisited by William Adelman, published by the Illinois Labor History Society. This illustrated tour guide recaptures the 1886 struggle for the 8 hour day, the trial and hanging of its advocates. \$8.00 cloth, \$2.95 paper.

The IWW, Its First Seventy Years, 1905-1975 by Fred Thompson & Patrick Muffin. This stirring yet factual account of the Wobblies is the most complete history available. \$15.00 cloth, \$4.95 paper.



Holiday Gift Package



A BEAUTIFUL GIFT EXCLUSIVELY AVAILABLE TO OUR READERS

HARLAN COUNTY KENTUCKY

A photo-documentation by Robert Gumpert.

The story of the men, women and children who stood the picket lines in Bloody Harlan

Eleven beautiful, high-quality reproductions on heavy, glossy stock. Each reproduction 11 in. X 14 in.—
Excellent for framing. Each portfolio only \$7.50.

BOOKS FROM LAWRENCE HILL

(Add 60¢ postage and handling for each book)

**LAWRENCE
HILL & CO.**
Publishers, Inc.

Energy War: Reports from the Front by Harvey Wasserman. In a series of articles and eyewitness accounts, Wasserman presents a vivid chronology of the anti-nuclear movement and shows how isolated protests have evolved into a powerful movement. 283 pp. \$5.95 paper.

The Autobiography of An American Communist by Peggy Dennis. A vivid account of 50 years of party life by the widow of former C.P. general secretary Eugene Dennis. 324 pp. \$8.98 paper.

There Is A Fountain: The Autobiography of a Civil Rights Lawyer by Conrad Lynn. No Lawyer since Clarence Darrow has defended successfully so many victims of injustice. 288 pp. \$12.00 cloth.

South Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations by Ann Seidman & Neva. "An exhaustive, appalling indictment of the exploitative regime in South Africa."—Kirkus Reviews 276 pp. \$10.00 cloth, \$4.94 paper.

BOOKS FROM SOUTH END PRESS

(Add 50 ¢ postage and handling for each book)



The Political Economy of Human Rights by Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman. Vol. I: **The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism**. Documents the complicity of the U.S. government, corporate establishment and the media in Latin American, Asian and African repression and torture. 441 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$5.50 paper. Vol. II: **After the Cataclysms: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology**. A detailed account of postwar Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos and the media's rehabilitation of the imperialist system. 380 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$5.50 paper.

No Nukes: Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power by Anne Giorgy and friends. A comprehensive guide to nuclear power. Explains the interworkings of nuclear plants, the nuclear fuel cycle, health and safety hazards and the economics and politics of nuclear power. 478 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$8.00 paper.

The Sun Betrayed: A Study of the Corporate Seizure of U.S. Solar Energy Development by Ray Reece. A detailed, behind-the-scenes history of the collusion between federal and corporate energy executives against small scale solar energy development. 288 pp. \$12.50 cloth, \$5.50 paper.

Social and Sexual Revolution: Essays on Marx and Reich by Bertell Ollman. A discussion of Marx's view of socialism and of class analysis, the problems of socialist consciousness and the teachings of Marxism, and the contributions of Wilhelm Reich to a socialist strategy for advanced capitalist societies. 228 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$5.50 paper.

The Curious Courtship of Women's Liberation and Socialism by Batya Weinbaum. A feminist critique of Marxism and the incomplete liberation of women in socialist countries. 168 pp. \$10.50 cloth, \$4.00 paper.

Strike! by Jeremy Brecher. A sterling account of American labor as a social movement. A vivid and exciting portrait of major mass strikes and the crucial role of the rank and file. 329 pp. \$4.95 paper.

Creative Differences Profiles of Hollywood Dissidents by Barbara Zheutlin & David Talbot. "A fascinating and informed inside look at the Hollywood left from the days of the blacklist to the present." (Jessica Mitford) 270 pp. \$12.50 cloth, \$5.40 paper.

BOOKS TO CHALLENGE CORPORATE POWER:

From the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies

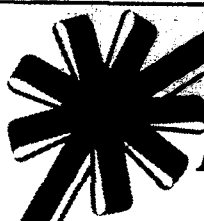
(Add 50¢ postage to total order)

Plant Closings: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders by Ed Kelley & Lee Webb. How to fight special deals that corporations wrest from local governments. 30 pp. \$5.00 paper.

The Battle of Cleveland: Public Challenges Corporate Power edited by Dan Marshall. A story of a city and a Mayor in open conflict with the financial and corporate elite. 180 pp. \$7.95 paper.

The Public Balance Sheet: A New Tool for Evaluating Economic Choices by David Smith. Introduces a new tool for analyzing the impact of public and private economic decisions. 20 pp. \$2.50 paper.

Tax Abatements: Resources for Public Officials and Community Leaders by Ed Kelley & Lee Webb. How to fight special deals that corporations wrest from local governments. 80 pp. \$5.00 paper.



Holiday Gift Package

ORDER FORM

Use this form to order your holiday gift selections. Make sure you enter the total price (including postage) in each section.

Make all checks payable to **In These Times**.

ORDER SOON—Allow 4-5 weeks for delivery.

Quantity	Price	Item	Cloth/Paper
----------	-------	------	-------------

RECORDS FROM PAREDON

SUBTOTAL \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

BOOKS FROM KERR

subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

HARLAN COUNTY REPRODUCTIONS

subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

BOOKS FROM THE CONFERENCE

subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

BOOKS FROM MONTHLY REVIEW

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Mail to **In These Times, Dept. A**

1509 N. Milwaukee

Chicago, Ill. 60622

subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

BOOKS FROM PANTHEON

subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

BOOKS FROM SOUTH END

subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

BOOKS FROM LAWRENCE HILL

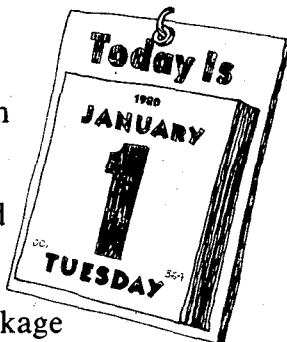
subtotal \$ _____ + postage \$ _____ = total \$ _____

TOTAL PRICE ALL SELECTIONS \$ _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED \$ _____

1980. For \$17.50.

We gave you 1979. Now you can give your friends 1980. Give them subscriptions to *In These Times*. Each week they'll get thoughtful reporting, indepth interviews and insightful analysis of our major social and economic problems. This year give them the news package



that's reliable, succinct and from a socialist perspective. Give them a gift that means something to you. Just fill in the blanks below now—and avoid the holiday rush. And remember, the more you give, the more you save. Your first gift is only \$17.50, half the newsstand price. Your second sub costs only \$16.50. The third and all other subs cost only \$15.50. This year give *In These Times*.

SAVE ON THE FIRST GIFT

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$17.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$8.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card _____

SAVE EVEN MORE ON THE SECOND GIFT

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$16.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$7.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card _____

SAVE STILL MORE ON THE THIRD GIFT (and each additional gift)

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$15.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$6.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card _____

YOUR NAME _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

☐ I enclose payment.

☐ Please bill me after January 1st.

☐ Charge my: ☐ Master Charge ☐ Visa

Account # _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Subscriptions will not arrive until after Jan. 1, 1980.

SEND TO: IN THESE TIMES, 5615 W. CERMAK RD., CICERO, IL 60650

STH2

everyone sees everyday but nothing that the artist perceives.

It seems at first that the artist is impatient with his audience. For he includes great numbers of people in his vision but paints them as so many little indistinct figures, a mass of white faceless beings dominated by far more intriguing, sky-touching tenement buildings, billboards, bridges and factories. It seems at first that Fasanella would chide his audience for not being as grand as the structures.

On second view, however, it seems more likely that Fasanella is merely impatient with himself. Apparently, he cannot trust his own perceptions. It is not enough for him to paint a cityscape of an historical event. He must decorate every such scene with a throng of faceless onlookers to legitimize his own vision, to affirm the significance of his subject matter. The tactic fails miserably. The artist denies his own vision by identifying it with the "littleness," the impotence of the simplistically painted "masses." Fasanella succeeds only in eliciting contempt—and pity—for himself.

The power of fear.

Fasanella's huge canvases present a sad self-commentary on the "little guy" turned painter: he is too scared to make his own statement. And apparently the thing that frightens him most is his own "littleness," his own impotence. When Fasanella is willing to state his own fear, it informs his most powerful work.

But there are only two such paintings in this show, both of them done some 30 years ago—before the mask of evasion slid over the canvases. In a portrait titled "Sister" (1949), an angry, orange-faced woman fills us with the fear that her anger will slam us backward. In "Wall Street" (1947), the tomb-like edifices of finance threaten to crush us. Would that Fasanella had shared more of his personal vision, for we can well relate to it. Instead, however, he insists on distracting us not only from his own self-doubts but also from the world inspired them.

The erasure is most evident in the largest paintings, the factory-scene murals—"I.W.O. Trade Strike" (1978), "Lawrence 1912 Strike" (1977), and "In Memory of Triangle Shirtwaist Workers" (1972). All of these are pale and incoherent canvases, dominated by pink bricks and well-lit, clean windows. The machinery is mostly white; the interiors of the factories, pristine. At best, these paintings are tedious and dull. At worst, in the Triangle memorial, the little artist's dream is offensive. It is as if the coward Fasanella has accorded the workers who perished in the fire is a trip to factory heaven, where they can stitch away forevermore in a nice clean workroom, where nobody can accuse them of being dirty immigrants (for they are all nicely dressed), where they can enjoy the camaraderie of being in the same machine-dominated boat.

Indeed, Fasanella's sister once protested the scouring her brother gave the dress factory where their mother had worked. But, according to Patrick Watson, author of *Fasanella's City*, "the intention...was not realism. He wanted to catch what he calls the 'jazz' of the place, which in his memory came from the sounds of the women all singing and joking together to escape the monotony and beat back the gloom. The physical quality of those shops bespoke death. He wanted to capture the life the workers gave them." If that was Fasanella's intent, then he does not lie with much conviction, for the paintings are devoid even of the soothing tensions of jazz; they are nothing but caskets laid out by an over-zealous embalmer.

To mimic Fasanella, one might pluck an ironic slogan from the dreary onslaught of this show. You might glean from these paintings a pithy truth: there is no safety in numbers—be it numbers of inches of canvas, or quantities of design elements, or masses of faceless people. If you are afraid to make a statement, the fact that "the total mass" shares your fear doesn't make the silence cogent. ■

WORKER AS ARTIST

By
Barbara
Garson



Dress Shop (1970).

For most of his life Fasanella the painter worked in a gas station. Before that he was an organizer for the United Electrical Workers, a volunteer in Spain, and before that a Little Italy neighborhood punk. Quit school in 7B, into boxing, petty theft, reform school.

Left wing morality is probably what kept Ralph out of the rackets. But in 1944 when he discovered painting, he left the union and became a gas station attendant, in order to devote his emotional energy to art.

And so for 30 years Fasanella pumped by day and painted by night the pain of the working class. In those years he created 150 teeming canvases, colored like stained glass and covered with the buildings, bridges, churches, kitchens and reform schools of his Italian working class youth. As the paintings accumulated in attics Ralph continued to work with the same energy and vision.

But in 1972 Nick Pileggi wrote an article for *New York Magazine* about the 58 year old "primitive." Ali of a sudden there were gallery openings and cocktail parties. In 1973 Knopf published *Fasanella's City* and WNET, New York's PBS channel, offered one of his prints as a gift with each new membership. Soon rich people, portrayed in the paintings only as objects to be picketed, were buying those same paintings for steadily rising prices.

Had Ralph Fasanella's life been oriented toward acceptance by the art establishment, toward success in the mainstream world, he might now be a satisfied man. But these aren't his people and this isn't his world. So we find him instead in a state of consternation.

I talked to Fasanella while he was up in Lawrence, Mass. living in the YMCA and painting the history of the textile strikes of 1912. He had been working in Lawrence for three years on a series of pictures intended to "give the workers back their own history." In keeping with this purpose the show was to have its opening, not in a Madison Avenue gallery, but in the Lawrence Public Library.

When we got to the Lawrence Public

Library, it's open and busy. But the gallery door is locked.

"Three fucking years!" Ralph sputters in circles. "I live here, I paint here, I sleep in the YMCA. Three fucking years in this goddamn town and they keep the goddamn door locked!"

"A lady was in here this morning," a guard hastens over to pacify Ralph. "I showed her around. She said she liked it very much."

"You know what it is?" Ralph rages. "They don't want these people to know their own history. They want them to mutter about the Puerto Ricans moving in. But they don't want them to know who really ruined Lawrence."

A woman in a telephone booth sees the gallery door opening.

"Can I look? I used to work in the mills."

She drags along her four-year-old grandson who heads for an enormous colored canvas and ducks right under the rope. "Look at the horsies! Look at

an investment or merely an expensive decoration?

As long as there are people responding to his work, even one, Ralph is happy. A teenager comes in with an overdue book, a mother and daughter worn out from Saturday morning shopping, a public school teacher.

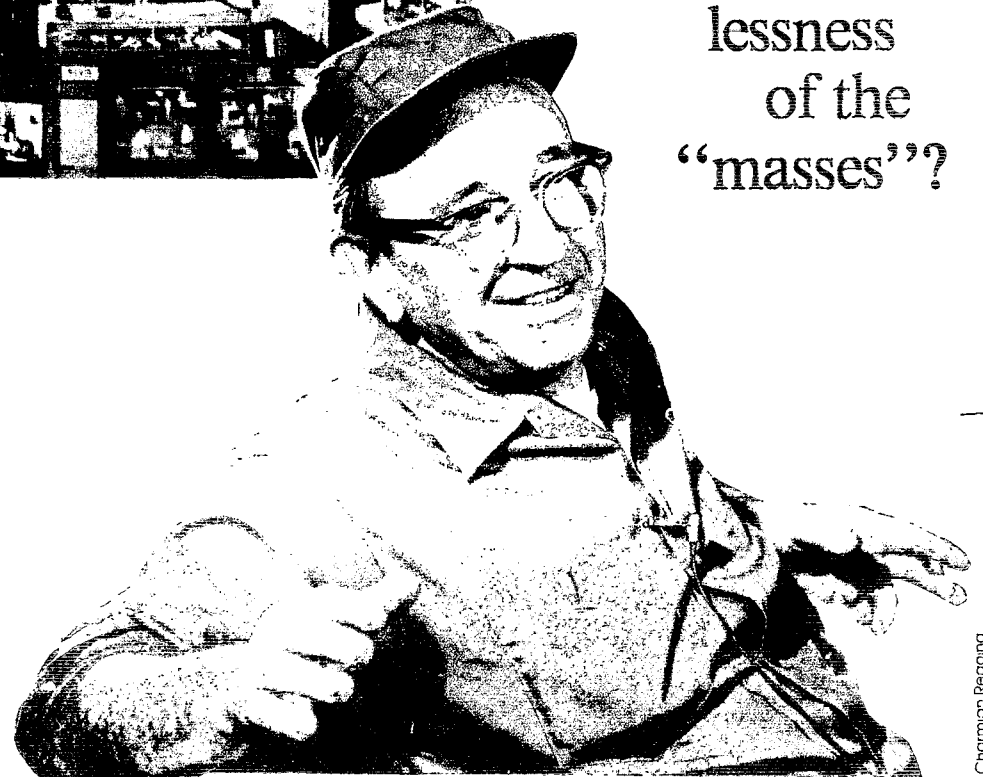
But when the trickle stops:

"Big opening—wine, cheese, the mayor. Who needs it! The least they could do is print up a flyer. I'm an organizer. I could get more people here myself."

"I just left a ten million dollar gallery. It was a whorehouse. I went to a one million dollar gallery. Same thing. Now I'm at a half million dollar gallery. Same thing? I don't know." Ralph throws his arms out in anguish. "I don't know what to do."

Fasanella is not a self-effacing man. he's proud as a rooster when he sees one of his pictures torn out of a magazine and hung on a gas station wall. He'd

Does Fasanella deny his vision, by identifying it with "littleness," with the powerlessness of the "masses"?



Charmian Redding

the bicycle!"

The woman heads for a smaller canvas. A mill with all the lights on and people working inside. With the same certainty and excitement she points through a factory window. "I worked in there. Right in that room. Only they had the loom on the other side."

A young man introduces himself. He's a local labor lawyer. "How long have these been here? I almost didn't hear about this show!"

"That's it!" Ralph explodes. "I'm never going to do this again. Not in a union hall either. For 30 years I been donating pictures, setting up shows. I carry them myself, I hang them myself. Next time I go to a union hall, I say, 'You guarantee me 3,000 people and you pay me \$1,000 or there's no show.'"

A local collector comes over with a question. "Your silk screens, Mr. Fasanella, how are they valued? I mean are they like lithographs, numbered and signed?"

"It's a fraud," Ralph tells the collector.

"You mean they aren't numbered?"

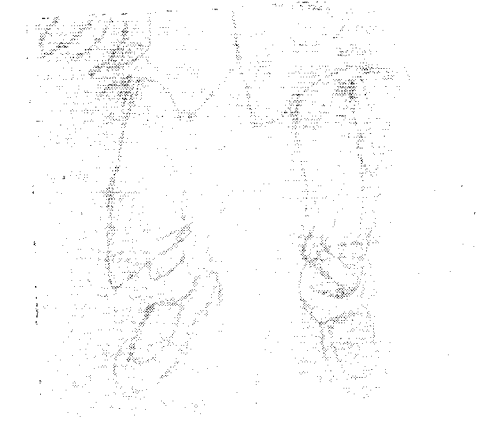
"They can print six hundred at ten thousand dollars each or ten thousand at six hundred dollars each. It's got nothing to do with painting, printing, labor costs. Nothing. It's just the way they can make the most money. Ten at a million dollars or a million at a buck fifty."

The lady isn't interested in how many there *could* be. She wants to know how many there *are*. Is a Fasanella silk screen

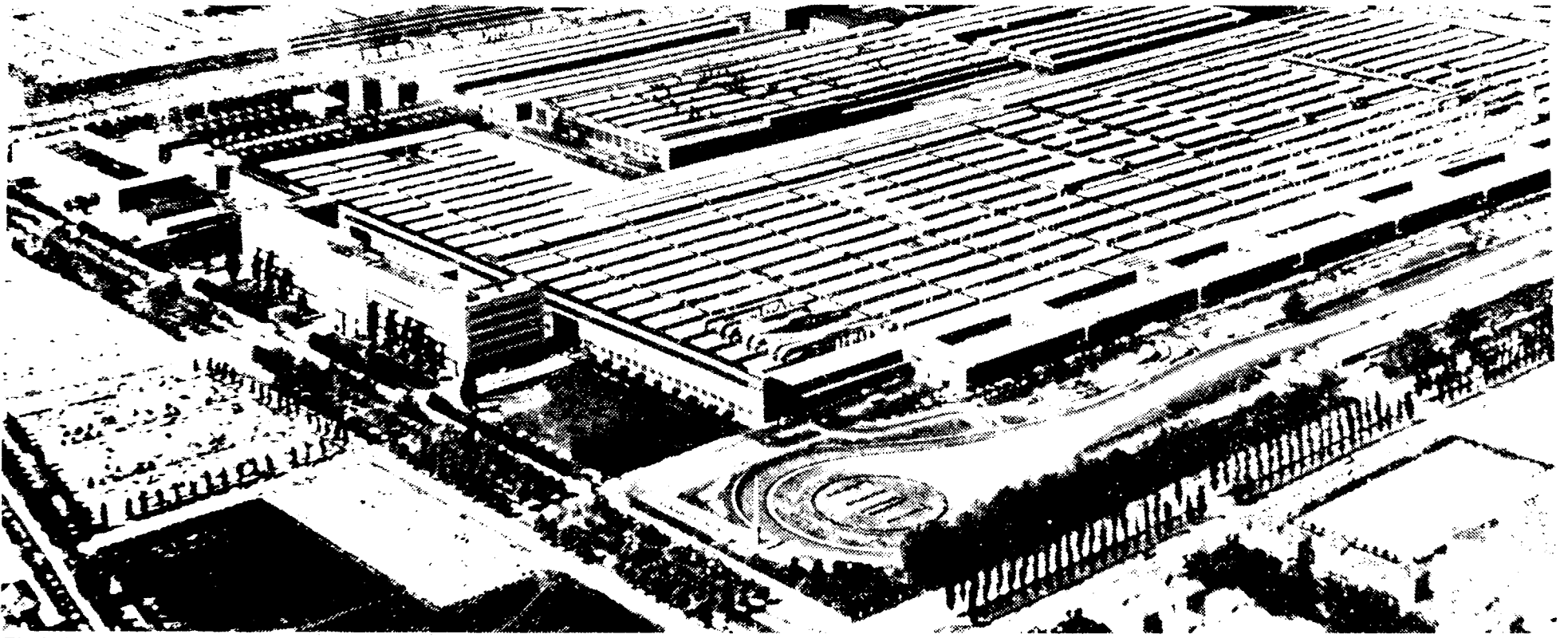
love to sell half a million prints at a dollar fifty each to union members. But there are no half million members organized to buy his pictures. That makes it harder to orient honestly to the half a hundred collectors who are willing to pay for the originals. Fasanella's disappointment is not really at what the art world is, but rather, what the worker's movement isn't.

Now that he's been discovered the artist's problem is not only to sell and exhibit, but how to go on feeling and painting genuine Fasanellas. ■

Barbara Garson is the author of MacBird and ALL THE LIVELONG DAY: the Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work (Penguin, 1977).



A sketch on newsprint; Fasanella would draw people on the subway.



Fiat's factory in Turin, the site of early October turmoil.

ITALY

Companies try to undermine unions

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IT COULD BE THE BEGINNING OF THE counterrevolution in Italian labor relations. On Oct. 9, in Turin, the giant FIAT automobile manufacturer fired 61 workers for lack of "diligence, propriety and good faith on the job." They were not accused of terrorism. But the firings, and announcement that FIAT had suspended hiring because the factories were "ungovernable," came only five days after the Red Brigades "knee-capped" Cesare Varetto, in charge of union relations in FIAT's turbulent Mirafiori body shop.

Three young gunmen approached Varetto as he was holding his two-year-old son in his arms, told him to put down the baby, and then blasted away at his legs. Varetto had taken over the job less than two years ago when his predecessor was similarly wounded.

The next morning, the Red Brigades' sister organization Front Line (Prima Linea) shot up the legs of Turin business consultant Pier Carlo Andreoletti and announced it was continuing its "fall campaign of proletarian terror" begun on Sept. 21 with the assassination of FIAT planning director Carlo Ghiglieno.

Since 1975, three FIAT executives have been murdered, 17 have been wounded, 58 have had their cars set on fire and 30 have undergone other aggressions of various sorts. Eighteen fires have been set endangering FIAT or its executive personnel.

The purpose of the terrorists has been to create a continuum between the most ordinary labor demands all the way through an escalating range of violence to murder, in order to draw Italy's combative factory workers into revolutionary civil war. The trade unions have seen the dangers of this strategy and have done their best to thwart it by drawing a clear line between workers and "terrorism, enemy of the working class." The Communist CGIL (General Confederation of Italian Labor), once it became all too obvious that Red Brigade accomplices were in the factories, distributing leaflets and informing terrorists about labor-management sore points and likely targets, took the lead in urging workers to cooperate with police in denouncing criminals. This left the unions open to charges of serving as police agents of the ruling class—an accusation that FIAT indirectly supported by suggesting that the 61 workers had been fired with the consent of union leaders.

In fact, the three major confederations CGIL, CISL and UIL and the unified metalworkers federation

The atmosphere created by Red Brigade terror has convinced FIAT that it can win a test of strength with the workers.

FLM all called meetings and partial strikes to protest the firings. Pio Galli, the Communist secretary general of the FLM, said that "denouncing violence and terrorism is an essential act of democratic solidarity. But no one has the right to take justice into his own hands." That was also the immediate position of the Italian Communist Party, which said that if FIAT had evidence that workers were involved in terrorism, it was duty-bound to turn such evidence over to the police but had no right to fire workers who were innocent until proven guilty.

FIAT, and especially the Mirafiori body shop, is historically Europe's most eventful battlefield in the class struggle. Workers are combative, management is shrewd, and the stakes are high. FIAT workers have been in the forefront of battles that in the past two decades won Italian workers not only higher living

standards but political power at the factory level—for example the factory councils—unique in Europe. This has been possible because of the workers' legendary capacity to defend their collective interests.

The emergency atmosphere created by terrorism has apparently convinced FIAT that it can take on its workers in a test of strength and start to unravel the solidarity and combativity that have made them so formidable. The unions see traps on either side: the danger of being pushed into an unwanted complicity with the terrorists if management insists on confounding militancy with violence, or of being reduced to the order-keeping role that the extremists of the Autonomy movement already accuse them of playing.

Factory delegate Silvano Veronesi called the firings "an historic turning-point, a step back to 20 years ago." In

the fifties, workers were fired merely for being spotted as union organizers. "We know the comrades who were fired, they are people like us, involved in the same struggles," said Veronesi. Politically, they are apparently a mixed bag. A couple are anti-union *autonomi*, others are active union members, a couple are militants in Lotta Continua, a movement whose enthusiasm for "constant struggle" stops decisively short of terrorism.

Mirafiori is no tea party, acknowledged Turin CISL leader Franco Gheddo, stressing that "violence is the product of this society and its working conditions." Is FIAT—like the terrorists themselves, but for opposite reasons—interested in blurring the lines between struggle and violence, between violence and terrorism? "It is unacceptable to present terrorism as the natural culmination of social conflict," protested Gheddo.

FIAT is the pace-setter in Italian industry. The day after the Turin firm fired the 61, Alfa Romeo in Milan fired four workers for "absenteeism" supposedly in retaliation for terrorist graffiti on the factory walls. The following night, hundreds of Red Brigade leaflets were distributed through the plant promising that "no firing will go unpunished."

ecology to fire up activism.

The "single-issue" people are wary of this. Friendly Socialist Party banners at the Oct. 6 all-women's march elicited some cries of "no recuperation."

The French Communist Party (PCF), on the other hand, was invisible at the march and the march was all but invisible to the PCF, whose current slogan "unity at the base" has not at all cured its habitual blindness to anything on the left organized by somebody else. *L'Humanite* wrote it up and off in a few lines as a "disappointment to its organizers."

But this time, some of *L'Humanite's* readers had been there and knew better. The PCF organ's report infuriated a group of PCF feminists called "Seeing Red," who angrily refuted the "quasi-slandorous and contemptuous" treatment of the first mass women's demonstration in French history. The growth of an independent women's movement comparable to the one that has flourished in Italy in recent years could put a serious strain on the PCF's traditional disdain for movements it does not control, given the important feminist sentiments among PCF women. This illustrates the "tension between movements and political parties" which the late sociologist Nicos Poulantzas thought necessary to revitalization of the left.

Abortion

Continued from page 3.

proving, he acknowledged that the law had saved the lives of several hundred women per year, even though it had frequently been sabotaged by doctors who dragged out the preliminaries. He stressed that if extended, the law should be applied correctly, and that doctors should be able to invoke the "conscience clause" only for themselves and not for their subordinates.

"Phony liberalism."

In fact, Lortat-Jacob was brought around to this new attitude by a revolt within the medical profession against his conservative crusade. But the Medical Order's revised stand will make it easier for right-wing deputies who initially opposed the Veil law to vote for its extension as is. This could make it easier for the right to pass the law without left votes—or amendments.

The Socialist Party calls the Veil law a "masterpiece of phony liberalism" and will try to amend it, but with slight chance of success. In September, the major trade union confederations CGT and CFDT, along with the National

Teachers Federation (FEN), began a joint campaign to sensitize their members to the abortion question prior to a petition drive seeking amendments to the Veil law. These include reimbursement of abortion cost by the national health coverage system, elimination of superfluous consultations that prolong the process and lengthening of the legal limit from the 10th to the 14th week of pregnancy.

The left parties and labor unions also favor creation of "orthogenic centers" to provide information and services relating to control of reproduction, including sterility consultations, contraception, voluntary sterilization and abortion. These more democratic provisions are unlikely to get through the current parliament.

Firing up activism.

Meanwhile, union leaders say their campaign is helping to combat backward attitudes within the working class. But there is another reason for the unions to tackle the issue. They need militants. Whether they admit it (like the CFDT) or not (like the CGT), the economic crisis, combined with the electoral failure of the left, has disoriented traditional economic combativity. Union membership has declined. Organizations may thus try to tap "single-issue" enthusiasms, feminism or

JAPAN

Elections boost CP,
but change little

By Joan Fleischman

TOKYO

BY NOON ELECTION DAY, Tanaka Michiko's storefront campaign headquarters in Nagoya, Japan's third largest city, was packed with her supporters, munching rice cakes and closely tracking the House of Representatives election returns on an old TV. The seven year veteran Communist Diet member waged a sharply-pointed issue oriented campaign against lavishly financed conservative rivals, and the outcome was far from certain.

The landslide break swelled the crowd with masses from a neighborhood clinic and young women clerks wearing the baby blue uniforms of the nearby Marubeni Trading Company—one of Japan's huge Zaibatsu, the concentrations of capital that have run the country since the last century and provide the power behind the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi.

When the final tally was in, cheers broke out. Tanaka, whose fate was unclear when the polls closed on Sunday night, chalked up her largest victory ever. She out-poled the Socialist Party, the conservative Buddhist Komeito and defeated the two right-wing LDP candidates. The Communists' strong showing in Nagoya's castside, and the LDP's complete shutout there, was just one of many surprises, as Japanese voters went to the polls at the dawn of the 1980s.

In a sharp upset, the ruling LDP, expecting to gain at least 20 seats over its pre-election strength of 242, sunk to its lowest ever. Slipping below an absolute majority, the LDP ended up with a net loss of one seat and saw a painful number of high-ranking party veterans canned by their constituents.

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, the Japanese Communist Party, (JCP) predicted to score only modest gains, spectacularly doubled its house membership from 19 to 39 seats, especially stunning its opponents in the major urban centers.

The Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), largest of the opposition parties, lost about 19 percent of its pre-election 117 members, as expected. It was able to hold on to the crucial Tokyo district of Party chair Asakata Ichio, who was seriously threatened by a concentration of conservative heavies especially designed to bump him out of office.

The two conservative opposition parties, the Social Democrats and Komeito, teamed up in several districts across the country. They picked up a handful of new seats, mostly in areas where the LDP's time honored domination is withering.

Not the whole story.

Changes in the Diet's composition, however, don't tell all the story.

New elections were triggered when Prime Minister Ohira dissolved the old House of Representatives in early September, just after his public relations success at the Tokyo summit and while the economy was still holding up. Ohira would make his hay while the sun shined, the LDP would boost its control in the house, and Ohira himself would boost his own control over the party's eternally feuding factions.

Ohira, known for his understated "moderation-in-all-things" approach, claimed he'd be satisfied to raise the LDP's representation from 242 seats to a healthy but modest 250. Rival faction leaders, past prime ministers Fukuda and Miki, ridiculed his caution. Anything less than 270 seats, which would

give the LDP absolute control over all the House's 16 standing committees, would be a serious defeat and they'd hold Ohira responsible.

In light of the LDP's resurgence in Japan's municipal elections this spring and the rise of the right in elections throughout the industrialized West, the only question left to pundits and pollsters was just how big the LDP's win was going to be.

Now that the ballots are all counted, the commentators who were so far off the mark are still trying to figure out what happened.

The composition of the lower house has definitely shifted among the parties, but the essential two-to-one balance between right and left is virtually unchanged. Socialists and communists still account for only a relatively powerless minority of at most over one third. The majority is still firmly in the hands of the LDP and the two conservative opposition parties, whose policies closely parallel the LDP right down the line. So although the JCP now has a larger share of the house's left minority, and some of the conservative majority slipped away from the LDP, the overall ideological profile of the Diet's most powerful house has not changed.

Not encouraging.

A closer look at the election results is even less encouraging for those hoping for a change in Japan in the 1980s. The most accurate reflection of political trends is not to be found in the number of seats won by the various parties, but in the popular vote they were given by the people. These figures tell quite a different story.

Headlines throughout the world proclaimed the LDP's "resounding defeat." But, in fact, its support among the voters actually climbed from 41.8 percent in 1976, to 44.6 percent now.

This year's three percent upswing was the first gain the LDP's share of the popular vote since its long decline began in 1958 and exceeds the advances made by all the other winning parties combined.

The JCP's truly spectacular gains in the Diet are still sending shudders through board rooms in capitals all over the west. But the JCP's 10.4 percent share of the popular vote was virtually the same as three years ago. In fact, the total number of votes it received actually declined by some 250,000.

The real election disaster was suffered not by the LDP, but by the Socialists. The JSP dropped from 123 seats in 1976 to only 107. Its share of the popular vote fell, too, but only by one percent, from

Tanaka Michiko, left, was re-elected as a Communist member of the Diet. Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi, right.

about 21 to 20 percent.

LDP factional strife led to several competing LDP candidates in some districts. With huge war chests amounting to millions of dollars, two competing LDP candidates made the total LDP vote very high, often out-polling all the other parties. But, when that vote was split between two rivals, in many cases it wasn't enough to elect either. On Nagoya's castside for example, two LDP men together garnered 114,000 votes, but each of them placed behind Tanaka Michiko's 75,000 and neither was elected.

The JCP, in fine contrast, concentrated its energy only where it had the best chance to succeed, the urban centers of Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya and Kyoto. The strategy obviously paid off.

Conservative strength in the Diet can be attributed also to the unequal weight of voters in the countryside and voters in the city. Japan's countryfolk have been steadily migrating into big towns, going to work in factories or offices and changing their views of society. But districts haven't been reapportioned in years. Over-representation of tradition-bound rural regions, where the LDP

commands a large following, gives conservatives greater weight than their share of the vote. A system of proportional representation would cut the LDP down to 228 seats, compared to its present 248. Socialist and Communist power, concentrated in the cities, would increase proportionately.

With reapportionment a near impossibility as long as the LDP holds the strings, the left's only hope is to build support among its own constituency. This year, the JCP proved its ability to turn out the voters, but the JSP's appeal continued to fade, as it has for the past 15 years.

The socialists' future.

Serious questions are being raised about the JSP's future. Socialist losses this year came as no surprise to anyone. Some JSP officials even commented privately

Continued on page 12.

Publications By and For Working Women

LABOR HEROINES: TEN WOMEN WHO LED
THE STRUGGLE - .75

WORKING WOMEN AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS--
150 YEARS OF STRUGGLE - \$1.00

ORGANIZE! A WORKING WOMEN'S HANDBOOK
\$2.50

JEAN MADDOX: THE FIGHT FOR RANK AND
FILE DEMOCRACY - \$1.00

TALKING UNION: A GUIDE FOR WORKING
WOMEN - \$1.25

1 to 5 pamphlets, add 60¢ postage

P.O. Box 40904
San Francisco, California 94140

Union WAGE

2000 BOOKS FOR A BUCK

Has the local Walgreen's run out of your favorite reading matter? Then browse by mail, courtesy of **Modern Times Bookstore**. Our brand-new 96-page catalog is the largest collection of non-sectarian Marxist and feminist literature outside of Modern Times itself. Includes gay liberation, Afro-American and labor history, anti-nuclear literature, non-sexist non-racist children's books—and everything else you'd expect. Carefully annotated, coherently organized. All for \$1 (credited to first purchase, of course).

To: **MODERN TIMES**
3800 17th St. — Box A
San Francisco, CA 94114

Here's a dollar. Please send me your catalog.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Catalog free to prisoners.

HARRY BRILL

Fed's high interest rates do not fight inflation

WITH A HELPING HAND FROM MAINSTREAM ECONOMISTS, The Federal Reserve Board is attempting to deceive the American public into believing that it is pursuing a high interest, tight money policy in order to subdue inflation. The claim is that by discouraging business and consumer loans, overall spending will decline, which in turn will take the pressure off prices. But the Federal Reserve Board must know better. As the experience of the last recession demonstrated, these policies aggravated inflation—reaching the double digit level in 1974.

The Federal Reserve helped to reduce overall spending, but production rather than prices declined, resulting in simultaneously high unemployment and inflation rates. Big business, by exercising its enormous market power, was able to raise unit prices to offset the loss of revenue due to lower demand. The automobile industry, for example, increased its average prices by an unprecedented \$1,000 per car in a 15 month period to protect its profit margin in the face of declining unit sales. And higher interest rates tacked on additional costs to the consumer for goods and services.

The claim now being made by the Fed's new chairman, Paul A. Volcker, that the economy is overheating and needs to be cooled, is absurd. The recession has already begun, and even administration spokesmen are admitting that the economy will get a lot worse. So while Volcker is pretending to pursue a counter-cyclical economic policy, a pro-cyclical stance has actually been adopted.

President Carter, who appointed the new chairman, has endorsed the Board's action, insisting that he is prepared to take any steps necessary to combat inflation. Any steps, that is, except to resist price increases. However simple-minded it may seem to the administration and the economics establishment, an authentic anti-inflation program would seek to reduce rather than to accelerate price increases. This principle applies as well to interest rates, which is the price for loaning money.

Why are they doing it?

What then is the purpose of the Federal Reserve Board's strategy? It is mainly seeking to improve the bottom line of the banking industry. The Board is attempting to legitimate higher interest rates by pretending this policy serves the public interest. Moreover, the Board is deflecting criticism of the banking industry by taking up the flack for pushing up the price of making loans. The Federal Reserve is making it appear that banks are not gaining because,

it claims, they are being compelled to assume the additional costs.

One dramatic step taken by the Federal Reserve was to raise the discount rate, which refers to the loans it makes to member banks, by one percentage point. This made the front pages, but it has little impact on the banks because they borrow very little from the Federal Reserve. Another important feature of the new program is the commitment to make money scarcer. This too would lift interest rates because the banks would have to compete for loans in a tighter money market. However, the ability of the Federal Reserve to control the money supply has declined considerably over the years. Moreover, the bankers themselves admit that there are numerous ways to sidestep the Federal Reserve, including as one banker admits, the ability "to smuggle money without being spotted."

So the startling increase, after the Board's announcement, of one full percent in the prime rate, which is the interest that banks charge their best customers, reflects neither higher costs for obtaining funds nor tighter money. In fact, the money supply increased by a whopping \$2 billion just a week before the prime rate was raised.

Higher interest rates substantially increase bank revenues, some of which will be passed on to the investment community, which will now be able to charge more for their loans to the banks. In short, banks, other financial and some non-financial institutions and rich investors will share the additional profits.

Aside from the Federal Reserve generally favoring higher bank profits, why has it taken steps on the eve of a serious recession, perhaps depression, to enhance the outcome of the banking industry? Unlike other major industries, which have raised prices to offset sluggish demand, the demand for bank loans is growing. But the risks have been climbing, too. Raising interest rates provides the banks with some protection for the loans they have been making.

Banks are nervous.

The bankers have reason to be nervous.

The pace at which business is currently paying back its loans has slowed considerably. Moreover, business bankruptcies have been increasing at an alarming rate. They are 10 percent over the same three month period last year. Also, consumers are overextended, repaying 18 percent of their take home pay (excluding mortgage payments) for debts, which is the highest on record since this information began to be collected in 1971.

In the last few months, personal bankruptcies have also climbed by 10 percent, which means that plenty of borrowers have been defaulting on their loans. Also worrisome, some of the billions of loans made by American banks to the developing nations are shaky.

John G. Heimann, Comptroller of the Currency, just warned that the nation should get ready for the failure of some large banks. One problem has been that many banks have extended themselves beyond their means while the Federal Reserve, like other federal agencies regulated by those they are supposed to regulate, has looked the other way. And now, on behalf of the banking establishment, it is attempting a last minute rescue operation.

The higher interest rates, which will increase even more, provides the mechanism for a massive redistribution of income from both small business and the American public to the banking community. Big industrial corporations can raise cash internally or obtain external financing below the prime rates. Moreover, many of them will be cashing in on higher interest rates by loaning some of their surplus funds, estimated at over \$100 billion.

Small business, according to the Federal Reserve's own records, are borrowing, not for expansion purposes, but to meet pressing needs to finance unsold merchandise. This has left many

companies with insufficient funds to meet expenses. The higher interest rate imposes a further hardship on these companies, undoubtedly prompting many of them to curtail business activities, and forcing some of them into bankruptcy.

Remember, the prime rate, now at 14.5 percent, applies only to a bank's best customers. Others pay even more. Construction companies, for example, must now pay 16 percent interest for construction loans, which will force many to reduce their building activities. In fact, as investment money moves out of savings banks, which supply mortgage money, into higher yielding investments, the housing industry will suffer.

Consumers will ultimately pay the higher interest rates, which will be reflected in higher housing costs, along with inflationary price increases for most consumer goods and services. Consumers will also shell out more money for loans and credit to finance purchases.

The fiscal impact upon the federal, state, and local governments, which depend heavily upon the banks and other financial institutions will also be great. To compete for funds that can attract high interest yields, they will have to offer higher interest rates on bonds and other borrowings. This means either higher taxes, cuts in public services, or both. In short, we are being forced to tighten our belts so that the banks can loosen theirs.

The *Wall Street Journal* quoted Voltaire as advising others to follow any banker who jumps out of a window because there must be money to be made down there. The catch, however, is that the money will have to come out of our own pockets.

Harry Brill is a professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts at Boston.

Japan

Continued from page 11.

that they were surprised to do as well as they did.

The JSP's historical power base has always been the Central Labor Federation, Sohyo. The Sohyo leadership is losing its political influence over its rank and file, who are drifting away from the JSP to either the Social Democrats on the right or the JSP on the left. Recently several unions have withdrawn their blanket support of the JSP, freeing their membership to vote however it wants.

In addition, ideological differences inside the JSP prevent the kind of unified effort that won the JCP its sweeping victory. In a few districts, the JSP candidates ran against each other, ensuring a loss for both. Further, just before the 1976 election, the JSP's most conservative faction broke away, launching a new party midway between the JSP and the Social Democrats.

Probably the biggest factor in the JSP's poor showing is its lack luster

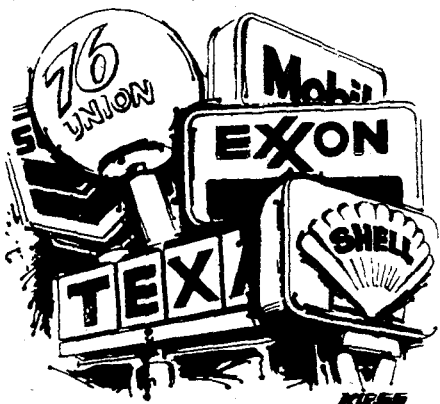
image, especially among young voters. People looking for fundamental change are apt to see the JSP as just a compromise and give their support to more militant Communist candidates. JSP success still largely depends on the wavering loyalty of the Sohyo rank and file.

Between now and Japan's next election, for the Diet's upper house this coming summer, very little change is expected. Although prime minister Ohira is widely held responsible for his party's defeat, his own faction increased its strength within the LDP. He's not likely to be replaced. Even if rival faction leaders can unseat Ohira, they'd bring no changes in policies.

Prospects for change after the upper house election next summer will depend on the performance of both the right and left. Continued revelations of corruption among LDP and government officials, on top of gloomy long range economic forecasts and Ohira's unpopular proposals for new sales taxes, will drive voters away from the ruling party.

The challenge before the two left parties is to convince those disaffected voters to choose fundamental change in policy, not just in personalities, as Japan embarks on the 1980s.

If you think you're being lied to and ripped off, you're right.



Makes you think you got a choice, don't it?

Please mail to:
Democratic Agenda, Room 617, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

I want to attend the 1979 Democratic Agenda Conference.

Enclosed is my registration fee

\$20 (with luncheon) _____ \$15 (without luncheon) _____

I have reserved a room at the International Inn _____

Limited private housing is available upon advance notice only _____

I would like to travel with others from my area _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

City and Zip: _____

Childcare will be provided _____

The official headquarters for the Democratic Agenda conference will be the International Inn on Thomas Circle in Washington, D.C. where special convention room rates have been arranged. Registrants may call the hotel toll-free at (800) 424-1140. Make sure to say you are with Democratic Agenda.

Robert Georgine The Hon. Barbara Mikulski, Heather Booth William W. Winpisinger, William Lucy, Barry Commoner, Michael Harrington

Harry Boyte Henry Lacayo Day Creamer Mark Green

If you think there's nothing you can do about it, you're wrong. Join with us at **The Democratic Agenda 1979 Conference** November 16 and 17, International Inn, Washington, D.C.

IN DEPTH

Can Fidel escape Soviets as non-aligned leader?

By Marlene Nadle

FIDEL CASTRO'S EFFECT ON THE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

movement has agitated Washington and the press lately, but the non-aligned nations affect on him has gone unnoted. His recent speech at the U.N., however, gives clear evidence of change in the movement's new chairman. Delegates from the Third World were quick to point out the differences. One Asian delegate said, "He has backed off from his positions at the movement's summit meeting last September in Havana. He has felt the weight of the opposition and now knows he cannot just have his own way. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Agha Shahi, said, "Castro did a forceful job of presenting the world with the case for the non-aligned nations. He skirted the issues that divide our movement and thus avoided widening the existing split."

Indeed, Castro's stand as spokesman for the third world differed from those as the leader of Cuba. He thus assuaged fears at the summit meeting that he was too close to the Soviet Union accurately to reflect the consensus of Third World interests. At the U.N. he went so far as to echo the line Yugoslavia, the leader of the opposition in Havana, had used against him. He "reaffirmed the principles and reaffirmed the objectives" of the movement. He pointedly included the Havana summit's condemnation of both "imperialism and colonialism," meaning the West, and "domination, interference, and hegemony" meaning the Soviet bloc.

He did not say, "These socialist countries are the natural allies of the non-aligned nations," which is his usual position and another issue dividing the movement. He did not take the pro-Moscow line on the Cambodia question, another source of conflict. He did not go, as one delegate from India said, "one inch beyond the positions authorized by the entire movement."

It was also suggested that the non-aligned movement influenced Castro to soften his role as leader and his style of criticism. This was done, it was explained, to accommodate countries, like Chad, which are too weak to take the posture Cuba, with Russia firmly backing her, can.

His leadership role was announced in his speech with the statement, "I have not come here as a prophet of the revolution. Nor have I come here to ask or wish that the world be violently convulsed." Explaining the change in another section of his speech he said, "As a revolutionary, I am not frightened by confrontation... But as the spokesman of 95 countries, [the man] who interprets their feelings, I have the responsibility to achieve co-operation among the peoples—cooperation that, if attained on a new and just basis, will benefit all the countries of the international community."

This shift was apparent even in Castro's most controversial position on the Palestinians. "We," he attempted to reassure Israel, "are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our hearts, we repudiate the persecution and genocide once visited on the Jews..." From there he went on to parallel this with the Palestinians' situation, and to imply the Israelis, of all people, should sympathize with the situation of a people "scattered throughout the world."

Needless to say, they did not. Israel's Ambassador Mehuza Blum called the

speech "virulent" and accused Cuba of "persistent attempts to destabilize the Middle East through the use of mercenary troops." Blum ignored the Castro argument that the crux of the problem in the Middle East is the Palestinian issue, and that working for only a partial solution with the Camp David agreement prevents the "establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the region." Blum also ignored the fact that it is not just Cuba, but almost all the former colonies among the African, Asian, and Latin American membership of the movement who identify, almost on a primal level, with the Palestinians' experience of having their homeland taken over by another people.

Castro did better when dealing with the economic issues that made up more than half his speech. His remarks were carefully placed in context, prefaced with phrases that sounded almost apologetic, such as "these are hard terms, but true and just," or things like he hasn't come to "wound a powerful neighbor in his own house." Instead of the usual pleasure he would take in tweaking Uncle Sam's nose, the whole thrust of the speech was to explain the conditions and perspective of the third world, to make people realize the mountain looks different depending on where you're standing. The effort earned him compliments for statesmanship and maturity from much of the media and many of the delegates.

What's in it for Cuba?

In an attempt to answer that question, one Indian delegate came back full circle to the non-aligned movement to suggest: Castro can and wants to use it to break away from Russia the way Tito did.

"Castro may be a thug the way he strong-armed people at the Havana summit and in his country, but he is a very intelligent thug. As such he knows that it is not good for Cuba to be selling its sugar to Russia at lower than world market prices. He knows that maintaining troops and the expensive defense posture Cuba has drains funds away from other development. He knows even with Soviet aid, Cuba is essentially a one commodity country with little diversification in agriculture and little industry."

"He can use the non-aligned movement as a counter balance. It is a way to tell Russia I can't do this because the movement won't let me. I can't do that because the movement won't like it," the delegate continued, citing the recent meeting of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) where Cuba loaded a committee for the third world faced off Russia without conceding. Others cited an earlier example in which pressure from the non-aligned moderates got Cuba off the hook in Eritrea, for a time, when Russia wanted her to use her troops against the Eritrean liberation movement

Cuba had previously supported.

A delegate from New Zealand, joining the conversation, speculated that as a result of Cuba's strengthened position in the non-aligned movement, with its Arab money, 1980 was a step forward. We saw in the speech a subtle announcement of a new Cuban foreign policy. In the mildness of his attacks on the U.S., in his failure to defend the Russian troops in Cuba, in his appeal for the lifting of the blockade, Castro was signaling readiness to move. This could be a creative time between the two countries if Washington is smart."

Perhaps on the assumption that Washington may not be clever enough to understand his subtlety, Castro spoke more directly about his desire for improved relationships later in the week. In a conversation with two members of the Black Congressional caucus, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Cal) and Rep. Mickey Leland, D-Texas, he suggested diplomatic relations between Washington and Havana. But he did not indicate willingness to change stands on any questions.

Castro got some support on this. The *N.Y. Times* said it was putting things backwards not to expand trade or cultural relations with Cuba until Castro brings his troops home from Africa. That, to the extent that the Cubans are merely serving the Kremlin as mercenaries, they can hardly rebel until they have attained more independence than mere recognition and trade could promise. Gov. Jerry Brown, on issues and answers came out strongly in favor of resumption of relations with Cuba, calling any other course illogical.

Washington was almost alone in having no comment on Castro's initiatives. The only positive response was to allow Ambassador Donald McHenry to attend a diplomatic luncheon in Castro's honor.

The negative response has been greater, though more oblique. It has been to continue plans for a sea force to

patrol the Caribbean.

And to review plans for training military officers of friendly nations in the Caribbean, including resumption of the sale of military equipment. This despite a report commissioned by Sec. of State Cyrus Vance that said the best medicine for the ailing Caribbean nations would be economic aid, not military.

That, of course, was Castro's main point, not only for the Caribbean, but for the whole third world. Because of his "star" quality he was able to get the details of that need on the front pages of newspapers around the world, and to give a certain cachet to the new international economic order, when previously it had produced only glazed eyeballs. This ability to get people to pay attention to him is one of the ways he may aid the cause of the third world.

In a movement so far from homogeneity there is no one prevailing opinion on the effect Castro will have. There is still wariness that by choice or necessity he will return to promoting the Moscow line. There are many who think it is too soon to tell anything since he has been Chairman only a little over a month of his three year term. There are others who think he will be an activist leader who will not perpetuate the inertia into which the movement has drifted.

The latter seems to be the view Castro has of himself. Part of his message was that there has been "enough of words! We need deeds! Enough of abstractions! Enough of speaking about a speculative new international economic order that nobody understands. We must speak about a real, objective order that everybody does understand."

It will be interesting to watch in these coming years what actions this unpredictable man will take and how it will affect the non-aligned movement. It will be even more interesting to watch the effect the non-aligned movement has on him and his relationships to the super powers.

IN THESE TIMES



Rep. Ron Dellums
8th District, California

"In These Times is one of the most fair, reasoned, balanced and accurate newspapers I have read in quite a while. My congratulations on your outstanding publication and its contributions to the community."

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
- ☐ Send me 48 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.
- ☐ Bill me later
- ☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge
- Account number _____
- Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each

IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, N.Y. 10591

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

WORLD SERIES

Not even Stargell's 'Family' can beat the cold

By Mark Naison

For drama and human interest this World Series was one of the best in recent years. The Pirates' comeback from a three-to-one deficit was an extraordinary achievement, especially since it came against three of the American League's best pitchers. Moreover the final game performance of Wilver Stargell, whose two-run homer provided the margin of victory, gave the series a storybook ending.

Stargell had become a folk hero during the course of the season—a person whose strength and sense of humor bound together a temperamental but talented group of blacks, whites and Latins into a self-described "family" that plays with extra-



The winners celebrate.

ordinary aggressiveness and confidence. To watch this "senior citizen," respected by everyone in baseball, hit three extra base hits against top-flight left-handed pitching was to feel—for a brief moment—that there was order in the universe and justice reigns.

Despite the uplifting outcome,

this World Series was poorly played. The fielding on both sides was atrocious. Infielders bobbled routine ground balls, blew 40-foot throws with striking regularity and stumbled over their feet chasing pop flies into the outfield. The third base play was particularly terrible.

After three years of acrobatics from the Yankees' Graig Nettles, the pathetic fumbblings of Bill Madlock and Doug DeCinces were painful to watch.

But the poor quality of the fielding was not wholly the players' fault. The coldness of the weather, the wet rainy conditions and the poor quality of the Baltimore field—which had been torn up by pro football—made the task of infielders far more difficult.

As in the NBA, baseball team owners are squeezing a few more games' worth of profits out of the season. But baseball is not a cold-weather game. The precision required in defensive play is difficult to sustain when one's fingers are cold and the ball is

wet and slimy. In addition the amount of standing around that baseball requires from its fielders—unparalleled in any other sport—means that players' bodies stiffen up in cold weather. The outfield play in the Series reflected this. Players on both teams looked awkward and stiff-legged chasing fly balls.

Good hitting and pitching are interesting to watch. But it's often the great fielding that remains most etched in our memory—Al Gionfriddo's catch on Joe DiMaggio, Willie Mays' on Vic Wertz, Brooks Robinson's leaping stabs and low-line drives. With steam flowing from players' mouths and their hands in their pockets, it's hard to imagine those feats being repeated. ■

CULTURE SHOCK

SAFETY AND NUMBERS

It costs the American taxpayers \$1.2 million each year to provide one ex-president, Gerald Ford, with secret service protection. The Secret Service's annual budget is \$157 million, some \$17 million of which is for presidential candidates.

Syndrome. Says producer Michael Douglas, "All those TV documentaries—many of them are cutting to film clips of the picture—had a lot of people convinced they had seen *China Syndrome*, when they hadn't."

DURING THE BANANA

The chief financial officer of International Telephone and Telegraph no longer uses the term "layoff." He calls layoffs "head-count reductions."

LIFE AND ART AGAIN

Three Mile Island actually hurt the sales of *China*



Tom Greenfelder

CLASSIFIED

ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Resigned/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

THE CHICAGO AREA SOCIALIST HISTORIANS will hold their first meeting on Nov. 4, 1979 at 7:30 p.m. All are welcome. We are an academically oriented group of students and teachers interested in discussing important trends in historical research and theory, critiquing each others work and exchanging ideas. First topic: "Modernization Theory in US Labor History." Call for more information: 784-4392, 227-1187, or 929-1794.

PUBLICATIONS

AUTO FUELS OF THE 1980s, by Jack Frazier, Solar Age Press: 71 pp. \$3.95 paper. "Methane as an alternative fuel for cars whose time has come, says West Virginia writer and publisher Jack Frazier." Order from Bellows Distribution, P.O. Box 782, Rochester, MN 55901.

THE GATHERING OF THE TRIBES OF THE EARTH: a book of 34 drawings. \$3 per copy: John Ashbaugh, 452 W. Doty St., Madison, WI 53703

A GUIDE TO COOPERATIVE ALTERNATIVES, a resource directory published by *Communities Magazine*, \$6.80 post-paid from our bookshop. For our free list of periodicals by mail send us your name, address and a 15¢ stamp. A Periodical Retreat, 336½ S. State, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

STOPPING POWER METERS, LIBERATE GAS AND WATER, TONE DEAF (Red and Blue Phone Boxes),

Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. Mail inquiries are welcome.

Tel. (312)525-3667

IRON GONADS, HOLOCAUST AMERICA, many other controversial and infamous survival publications. By John Williams, M.S.E.E. (CBS 60 MINUTES, 3/5/78 on "Power Pilferage"). Send 50¢ for brochure: CONSUMERTRONICS, PO Box 475-TNT Alamogordo, NM 88310.

PABLO NERUDA's "Incitation to Nixonicide and Praise for the Chilean Revolution," dual language. \$4.00. Rius' *Communist Manifesto Comicbook*, \$2 from Quixote, Allen Station, Box 70013, Houston, TX 77007

MARX-POULANTZAS-GRAMSCI: Extensive collection of Critical Theory & political economy titles. Mail orders & charge cards accepted. Free catalog. GREAT EXPECTATIONS BOOKSTORE, 911 Foster St., Evanston, Ill. 60201.

SOCIALISM FOR THE U.S.A.?, an 80 page pamphlet by labor professor Harry Kelber, makes the idea of a Socialist American not only "thinkable" but attractive to working people, based on their everyday working experience and self-interest. \$1.75 per copy includes mailing and handling. Write to: Straight Talk Pamphlets, Box 1059, Grand Central P.O., New York 10017.

BOOKS SAVE 10-15% ON ANY BOOK IN PRINT. Write for FREE BROCHURE. ABC, Box 1507/TT1, Kingston, Canada K7L5C7.

FOR SALE

SHUT THEM DOWN for Christmas ...and forever. 3 color, silk screened Christmas cards. Profits to stop the nukes. \$7.50/pack of 25 post-cards printed 2 sides. \$4.50/pack of 10 folding cards and envelopes plus \$.50/pack for postage. Prepayment only to: BAC Street Design Collective, 151 W. Henry, Wooster, OH 44691.

HELP WANTED

IN THESE TIMES is looking for a new Managing Editor. The job includes responsibility for the domestic and foreign news section

of the newspaper and coordination of production with art department. Familiarity with the purpose and character of *In These Times* and journalistic experience are required. Salary is negotiable within very narrow limits. Call James Weinstein (312) 489-4444.

STUDENTS: Sell subs to ITT on campus and keep \$4 per sub. Write or call Pat Vander Meer at ITT, Chicago.

CHICAGO AREA SUBSCRIBERS—In *This Times* needs volunteers to help with special mailings & other projects. Call Bob Nicklas at 489-4444.

PSYCHOTHERAPIST/ORGANIZER. Liscenced family therapist, to develop and lead work stress groups and either women's or 3rd world groups, aimed at developing class consciousness. \$16,000 full time, \$8,000 half time. Resume: Institute for Labor and Mental Health, 3137 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609.

STAFF DIRECTOR/ORGANIZER. Geographic-based, multi-issued community organization in southern third of city of 100,000 needs community organizer and director of small staff. Experience and Spanish fluency preferred. Orange County Sponsoring Committee with Pacific Institute for Community Organization's consultants began project in April 1978. Salary negotiable. Contact: Jerry Helfrich, Fullerton Organizing Project, 213 W. Commonwealth, Fullerton, CA.

PART-TIME OR FULL-TIME established candy, toy and novelty route available. Earn \$20,000 to \$35,000 yearly. You can expand as you desire. Total investment only \$11,975. For full details call Mr. Raymond collect 315/732-1149.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE seeks executive secretary for its Southeastern Regional Office based in Atlanta, GA. Qualifications include administrative and program experience, commitment to Quaker values, demonstrated ability to communicate ef-

fectively. Send resumes to Search Committee, P.O. Box 2234, High Point, NC 27261. Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action employer.

COLLEGE STUDENTS! Improve your grades. Send \$1.00 for your 356-page term paper catalog. 10,250 available. Research Assistance, Box 25918SK, Los Angeles, CA 90025 (213) 477-8226.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER—Denver Area Justice and Peace Committee is an interfaith ACTION organization. Its major focus now is the Nestle's Boycott. An organizer experienced in house meetings, action strategy and asking for money is needed. Salary \$750/mo. +. Contact: Connie Curtis, DAJPC, 200 Josephine, Denver, CO 80206

LABORERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION, Rank-and-File Union Dissidents, need funds desperately to continue their fight against Corrupt Union Officials, Unresponsive Government Bureaucrats, and the Corporate Rape of Working People. We can't do it alone...It's everybody's ball-game...It's everybody's fight. We've got the determination, the stamina, and the commitment. We do not need sympathy, Just Your Bleeding Heart Bucks. Send Contributions to:

Chris White—Sam Goodman
Acting Finance Com. Chairmen
Box 72938
Fairbanks, Alaska 99707

LOST AND FOUND

JOSEPH BUTE & JUDY GOTTS-GESEN—We have your renewal notice but you forgot to include your address. Help us find you. Call or write *In These Times*, Attn' Circulation Dept.

EDUCATION

CRITICAL STUDIES AT A STATE UNIVERSITY. Sangamon State University offers the opportunity for self-designed degree programs at the B.A. and M.A. levels in the In-

dividual Option Program. Courses and other learning resources are available in a variety of areas including: Socialist-Feminism; Anarchy Today; Radical, Social and Political Theory; Marxism; Critical Theory; Community Organizing; Alternative Energy Systems; Institutional Racism; Euro-Communism; Radical Therapy. For more information contact Professor Robert Sipe, Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708 or call (800) 252-8533.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

W.L. Taylor 112782 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160
Tom Taylor 112782 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160

Roscoe Million 113409 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160
Willie Price 114412 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160,

Joe Bentley, 113420 P.C.C.-C2 State Farm, VA 23160

Hans Hewitt 107987 Bland Corr. Center, B.C.C. Route 2 Bland, VA. 24315

Walter Chestnut 151818, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.

Joe Morris, #147-540, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John L. Wright, #124-730, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000 Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.

M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Majec S. Muasher 146797 PO Box 45699 Lucasville, OH 45699

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

IN THESE TIMES CLASSIFIEDS

35¢ PER WORD PREPAID

SPECIAL DISCOUNTS

3-9 INSERTIONS 30¢ PER WORD
10-19 INSERTIONS 25¢ PER WORD
20+ INSERTIONS 20¢ PER WORD

SEND TO:

1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.
CHICAGO, IL 60622

LABOR EDUCATION

Magic lantern sheds light on energy, jobs

By Jan Rosenberg
and Fred Siegel

Workers' education is coming into its own. Unheard of a few years ago, unions, colleges, and special institutes now offer a broad range of programs and courses in the social sciences and the humanities. The largest and best known of these programs are the 1999 Health and Hospital Workers' panoramic "Bread and Roses" and the American Clothing and Textile Workers' "Threads." A lesser known pioneer in this area is the New York based Institute for Labor Education and Research.

The Institute for Labor Education and research was formed in 1975 by a small group of left intellectuals and activists. Institute projects include comprehensive courses on the meaning of work as well as three short (30 minute) slide shows on key political issues: energy ("Should Energy Cost an Arm and a Leg?"), health and safety ("Your Job or Your Life?") and affirmative action ("Is Affirmative Action Still Alive?").

Unlike most other labor education projects, the Institute for Labor Education and Research is not affiliated with any particular college or labor union. It relies on private foundations and public grants for most of its funding.

The courses and slide shows carry neither college credits nor other tangible rewards. Participants remain only as long as they are interested. The Labor Institute has responded to this pressure by creating three very interesting, entertaining and informative slide shows.

All three slide shows integrate imaginative, original and funny

drawings by Howard Saunders with lively pop and folk music, and of course, voice over narration that lays out the issues. The slide shows, like the longer courses which the Institute has developed, move from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract.

The slide show on energy, "Should Energy Cost an Arm and a Leg?," focuses on the major oil companies: Who are they? Who controls them? How do they use (and abuse) their power? It emphasizes control of energy resources.

The show slights technical issues, and thus misses the chance to talk about renewable energy sources like the sun, water, and wind. Any fully developed discussion ought to consider these questions, as well as the international dimensions of the energy problem. OPEC escapes without even being mentioned.

"Is Affirmative Action Still Alive?" opens by citing the dangers lurking in the Bakke and Weber cases, then documents labor market segmentation, overt discrimination and a brief history of affirmative action legislation. (Even with this history as background, supplementary discussions of full employment would make the presentation more appealing to working class men who are likely to be skeptical about the justice of affirmative action as currently conceived.) This slide show forcefully presents employers' attempts to divide and rule workers by exploiting their ethnic, racial and sex differences. As one turn of the century boss puts it, "It's not good to have all one nationality, they'll gang up on you."

"Work—Your Job or Your

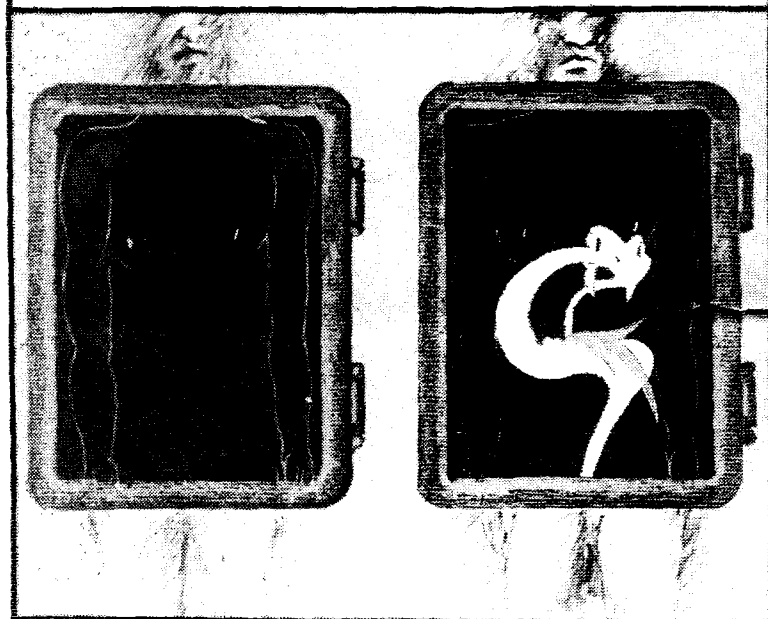
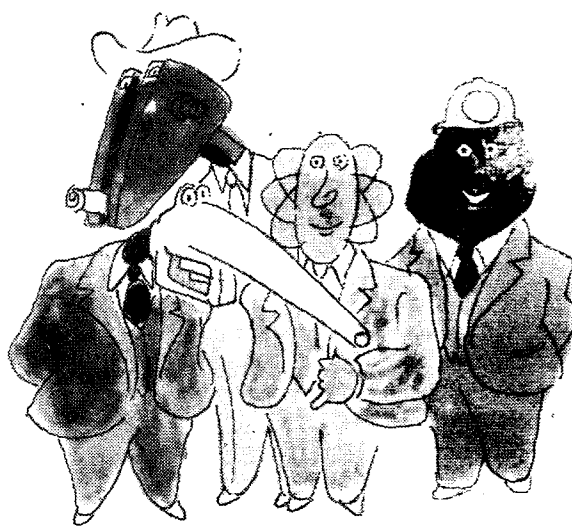
Life" begins by conveying the general disgust which many people feel toward their jobs through Johnny Paycheck singing "Take This Job and Shove It." The song accompanies Saunders' drawings, often integrated into realistic photos of people at work and then in a bar, talking. Statistics on safety hazards are presented in vivid terms, followed by an extended analysis of environmentally induced cancer.

The argument builds: health hazards are the result of corporate efforts to increase profits. It concludes, "The choice isn't between unsafe jobs or no jobs at all. The real choice is between sitting back and accepting corporate priorities or fighting for our health-and-safety and our jobs no matter what happens to profits. Our lives and our jobs must come first."

The Institute's carefully thought through and well-executed production process helps account for the high quality of these entertaining, informative, and provocative slide shows. After extensively researching a particular issue, some Institute members write a script. Several members of the Institute then try out the material on different groups of rank and file workers. After each presentation they solicit questions and criticism that feeds into their next revision. At each showing audiences are asked to evaluate what they've seen, and their remarks become the basis for further revisions. ■

To order slide shows contact the Institute for Labor Education and Research, 853 Broadway, #2007, NYC 10003.

Jan Rosenberg and Fred Siegel teach labor history at Empire State College.



Howard Saunders' drawings complement an energetic, clear narrative.

POPULAR MUSIC

Talking Heads' album gives art rock a good name

By Bruce Dancis

The corner where rock meets art has been the scene of many accidents. We probably have the Beatles' *Sergeant Pepper* to blame. Though beloved at the time (1967) a decade's passage seems to emphasize the album's pretentiousness and artificial qualities.

Sergeant Pepper encouraged many other rock bands to pursue their own quasi-artistic conceits. The studio smothered cuteness of the Rolling Stones' same year response, *Their Satanic Majesties Request* comes immediately to mind, but the further excesses of "progressive" rockers, whose major claim to fame seems to be their penchant for expropriating classical riffs, were enough to give art, let alone rock, a bad name.

Until *Talking Heads*. Formed by three students who met at the Rhode Island School of Design, joined later by a Harvard architecture graduate, this New York based band blends together a distinctive minimalist sound with sharp-eyed, often introspective views on such matters as an apartment house,

artistic blockages and other aspects of everyday life.

With *Talking Heads*, sincerity is beyond question. They create a deliciously unbearable musical tension. The typical TH song features David Byrne's intense vocals; an insistent, simple rhythm, laid down by drummer Chris Frantz and bassist Tina Weymouth; Jerry Harrison's ingeniously placed, rapid synthesizer and piano riffs; and Byrne's telegraph key guitar style. In unison—they are tighter than Bjorn Borg's strings—the pace quickens, the mix loudens, the pressure builds, and it looks like Byrne is going to freak, and then the song is over and relief finally comes.

"When we first started playing, we were making an effort to be as different from the Elton's, the Rolling Stones, the Aerosmith's," says Chris Frantz about the group's sound. At that time, Frantz told me in San Francisco during the group's current U.S. tour, "we were conscious of the fact that it sounded really wierd, but it doesn't sound unusual to us now."

Nor does the unique Talking

Heads sound seem too strange for their expanding body of fans. Their first album, *Talking Heads: 77*, firmly established the band's stellar reputation among the country's rock press and nascent New Wave community, and released upon the world "Psycho Killer," their strikingly authentic, pre-Son of Sam, expression of madness. (It's our "Jumping Jack Flash," jokes Frantz about their most requested song.) *More Songs About Buildings and Food*, the 1978 follow-up featuring a Top 30 hit in their sensuous version of Al Green's sacred "Take Me To The River," expanded their audience nationwide.

Now comes *Fear of Music*, one of the finest records released this year. Although the finished product flows and fits together beautifully, Frantz describes the recording process as "nerve-racking." "We were hard pressed for ideas because we were touring a lot and had no time to write songs," he explains.

So the band turned to jamming. Byrne, the band's songwriter, would listen to the tapes, choose the best parts, and then start

looking for lyrical ideas to go along with the music.

Byrne's witty, neurotic, ominous, resigned ideas appear both as short treatises and stream of consciousness raps about "Paper," "Air," "Heaven" ("a place where nothing ever happens"), "Animals" and other aspects of living in urban areas.

The exception is "I Zimbra," whose "lyrics" were discovered by *Fear of Music*'s producer Brian Eno, himself a noted figure in the rock avant-garde. "I hate to admit it because it sounds so arty," laughs Frantz, "but it's a dada poem from the 1920s by Hugo Ball. We had been calling the song 'Africa,' because we thought it had a Nigerian pop sound. The words are completely meaningless; they were just interesting sounding."

Talking Heads retains artistic control over their album covers. *Fear of Music* comes in a solid black cover featuring raised ridges throughout the surface and spare, electric green lettering. Frantz describes their conception: "We wanted to have something that looked like a strong, protective package for the record, the idea

being that the record is the work of art, not the album cover. We used the kind of texture they use on industrial, non-skid surfaces." In addition, the cover was designed to distinguish *Talking Heads* from bands "who seemed to just come out of a fashion magazine. We thought that this cover would serve to reinforce the idea that our motives were not to try to glamorize ourselves."

The best song on the album, "Life During Wartime," evokes a terrifying underground existence in a Belfast-type New York City sometime in the future. Whether taken as a warning against radical chic posers ("This ain't no party, this ain't no disco, this ain't no fooling around/ This ain't the Mudd Club, or CBGB, I ain't got time for that now") or as a realistic statement about the hardships and rigors of life in the 'Weather?' underground, Byrne's dynamic story has no parallel in rock music. With Harrison's synthesizer adding saxophone-like depth to the pulsating, hard rocking rhythm, "Life During Wartime" exemplifies modern, meaningful rock and roll. ■



ALL QUIET ON THE HOME FRONT

By Kenneth Harper

WHEN MARLON BRANDO WENT to his Vietnam he became a colonel and had his own army. When Bruce Dern went to his Vietnam he was a captain. Burt Lancaster was a major. Robert DeNiro and Jon Voigt came home from their Vietnams as sergeants and won Oscars.

I came home from mine as a specialist fifth class and became a hermit—a little more than eight years ago.

Most of us who were actually in Vietnam are out of the military now. Some have gone to college, some have gone to work, and some have gone to jail. (Something like eleven percent of the nation's prisoners are Vietnam veterans.) And some, like the three little pigs confronting the big, bad wolf, have gone wee wee wee—out of their minds.

Four years ago, in a "help session," a counsellor told me that "this was to be expected." I did not ask him by whom. I certainly had not expected it. Neither did thousands of other young men, teenagers at the time, who went to Vietnam and then returned to the United States and the relative silence of the rest of their lives. Yet I am constantly addled by a single question: what really happened?

In the eight years that I have been back, I have talked a lot about the war, but rarely with my family. My father, a former executive recently retired from a huge corporation, was a lieutenant in the

navy during World War II. His destroyer outfit was the first to operate against the German Wolfpack in the North Atlantic. He later fought off kamikaze pilots in the Pacific. The name of his ship was the *George E. Badger*. While on shore leave in Florida, he met my mother. The war won, he took her home to Chicago. Those are segments from his war.

In mine, I was with an intelligence unit that operated "under cover" on LZ (Landing Zone) Betty, a base camp south of the city of Phan Thiet, the nuoc mam capital of the world. The name of my unit was the 34th P.E.D.—that is, to those who didn't know better. I moved multi-colored flags mounted on pins across an acetate operations map. The flags had numerals drawn in by crayon. They indicated the enemy.

On LZ Betty, I ran into a friend I had originally met in basic training. In basic, three men in our battalion, three fat, out of shape teenagers, had died from heat stroke—and the negligence of drill sergeants and company commanders who ordered training when temperature and regulations prohibited it. Connections made by computers in Washington D.C. matching MOS's (military occupational specialties) to unit needs in Vietnam had dispatched my friend to psychological operations on LZ Betty. He had been "in-country" a few months before I arrived.

The first day he saw me, he wanted to

know if I was still in intelligence. I said no, lying to protect my unit's cover, which, my C.O. had said, made possible "sensitive counterintelligence missions against the enemy." My friend asked me whom I was with. I told him the 34th Province Evaluation Detachment. He said, "What?" I told him where our hootches were located on the LZ.

A week or so later, at his invitation, I walked into his sandbagged home away from home. He introduced me to six dusty, bearded, bejewelled GI's with gold peace pendants dangling from their necks and ear-rings pierced through their lobes. My friend told them I was "with the unit on the hill." They wanted to kill me.

They thought I was C.I.D. (Criminal Investigation Division). They grilled me. What did I want with them? What did I really do? They cradled loaded M-16's. I blew my cover. Nervously, I articulated the differences between the C.I.D., which I was not, and M.I. (Military Intelligence), which I was. They decided to let me go. But they added that, in their opinion, "intelligence" was a malapropism when used in the context of Vietnam and the American Army in general.

I later learned that these men were part of an engineer convoy that had staged a false fire fight while coming down from their mountain outpost. Two officers had been killed, two first lieutenants who were guilty of "gross and unwarranted chickenshit." The engineers were normally based on top of "Whiskey Mountain," I think it was called, miles from the night time protec-

tion of the Cobra gunships, attack helicopters that graced LZ Betty. (Oh, blessed Cobra gunships.) "Whiskey" was always being hit. Hard. Rockets, mortars, ground probes. That sort of thing.

The lieutenants wanted the men in good shape. Early in the morning, before the sun got hot, before breakfast, and before going to blacktop dirt roads that many times had been mined during the night, the lieutenants awakened the men for "P.T.," physical training: push-ups, sit-ups, leg lifts, deep knee bends. The temperature was a cool 85, the humidity about the same, although both rose with the hour of the day.

The lieutenants were warned. Twice. And then...

According to a rumor as reliable as any, the C.I.D. wanted to indict the members of the convoy for murder. But murder charges would never stick, although the bullets found in the dead lieutenants' bodies were 5.56 mm, M-16 rounds. Not only did U.S. and ARVN troops carry M-16's, but the VC, by stealth, cunning, and bending over to pick up rifles that had been left behind—had a substantial supply themselves. The case never made it beyond suspicion.

I mentioned this to my father when I first got back. He said it did not sound like the same military he had been part of. I commented on the gross distortions of the war that the Chicago newspapers gave (simply reporting the "facts," that is, numbers). My father reproached my bad attitude. He advised changing it or else I was headed for trouble. Business did not need non-productive, non-positive people. So for some two or three years, I joined the intermittently unemployed, another group frequented by those tainted with the "Post-Vietnam Syndrome."

For the past eight years my father and I have not talked about much, at least not about the war, not about getting high and climbing on top of sandbagged bunkers to watch the gush of color as jets napalmed villages that had been pins with flags on an acetate map. Not about seeing people whose skins looked like charred bacon rinds weeks later. Not about race riots at huge military installations such as occurred in Nha Trang, nor about firefights between black and white soldiers in the Mekong Delta. Not about polluted, industrial Chicago looking like a relic of World War II film clips to someone who had spent a year in a pristine, pre-neon, pre-billboard country that had, at least where I was, avoided the moon craters left by B-52's whose bombing I once mistook for thunder while awaiting assignment in Saigon. Not about being so sickened by your own complicity that heroin was preferred to thinking. We didn't talk about much at all.

I didn't talk much with my younger brother either. At one time he had considered exchanging post-Methodist atheism for Quaker activism as a matter of conscience until a high lottery number rendered his decision moot.

I didn't even consider trying to talk to my younger sister. Along with her 17-year-old girl friends, she had a bad case of the giggles. They shook with baby fat and nerves. One of my sister's friends had a brother who was killed flying his first helicopter mission in Vietnam. He and I had been dishwashers at a local restaurant our senior year in high school. I never talked to his mother about her son. I didn't talk to mine about hers either.

A couple of years ago, coming out of a movie, I bumped into my old friend from LZ Betty and basic training. He had dropped out of the same Midwestern university I had dropped into. He worked the graveyard shift at the local food processing plant. He was in the "sanitation department." Every night for the previous two years he had been hosing the place down.

We got together a couple of times after our encounter in the parking lot of the theater. But we never talked about the good old days. We talked about movies, I think.